

France Urges European Effort On High-Technology Research

By Michael Dobbs

PARIS — France is urging its European neighbors to begin European programs for peaceful scientific research.

Political analysts view the proposal as an attempt to counter the technological challenge posed by President Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative.

The French proposals, which were discussed Wednesday at a cabinet meeting, represent a renewal of French initiatives to spur European cooperation in high technology.

They were formally conveyed to other West European governments by Minister for External Relations Roland Dumas earlier this week.

Code-named Eureka, for the cry made by Archimedes, the ancient Greek scientist, when he discovered the principle of specific gravity, they envisage European cooperation in such areas as high-powered computers, lasers, artificial intelligence and microprocessors.

In public comments Thursday, several French ministers contrasted the initiative for peaceful high technology research with President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, popularly known as "star wars."

The Reagan administration has invited West European countries to take part in joint research in

developing a high-technology, anti-ballistic missile system.

Analysts said the timing of the French proposals suggested that they were intended to provide other West European countries with a political and economic alternative to the U.S. research program. Both projects are likely to be discussed Monday and Tuesday at a meeting of the Western European Union in Bonn and next month at the annual seven-nation economic summit meeting, also in Bonn.

In a television interview Thursday, Defense Minister Charles Hernu said that other countries besides the superpowers should be allowed to acquire space-age technologies such as military observation satellites.

Noting that France did not belong to the military wing of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Mr. Hernu said the United States should not be allowed "to place us in a kind of economic super-NATO on the pretext of chasing after our industries, our technologies, our knowledge, our technologies and our brains."

A similar line was taken by Research and Technology Minister Hubert Curien, who said that the prospect of an American technological "leap forward" because of the space defense plan was encouraging West Europeans to reinforce

their own cooperation in such areas as lasers, particle beams and high-powered computers.

France, which along with Britain has its own independent nuclear deterrent, has reacted skeptically to Mr. Reagan's calls for the construction of the anti-missile defense system. Officials have said privately that they fear that the talk of doing away with nuclear deterrents could undermine public confidence in the idea of "mutually assured destruction" to keep the peace in Europe.

In common with other West Europeans, however, the French are also troubled by the prospect of a widening technological gap between the United States and Europe if the Reagan administration goes ahead with its plans to invest vast sums in a space defense system.

President François Mitterrand's advisers are aware that other European countries, particularly West Germany, are tempted by U.S. offers of lucrative defense contracts.

The proposed Eureka project envisages research in many of the areas that would be covered by the U.S. space defense program.

France has singled out six areas for possible cooperation. They include advanced optics and laser technology, new materials, large computers, artificial intelligence and high-speed microelectronics.



Roland Dumas

[Senior French government officials, speaking privately, and diplomats in Paris told the International Herald Tribune on Friday that they viewed Eureka mainly as an initiative to start discussions about European technological cooperation.]

[They noted that Prime Minister Laurent Fabius, when he was industry minister, made similar proposals last year and that they were resisted in West Germany and Britain. Mr. Mitterrand made a similar proposal to a European summit in March 1983.]

Soviet Links Geneva To U.S. Space Plan

Reuters

BONN — Two senior Soviet officials said Friday that Moscow might refuse to reduce its nuclear arsenal if the United States persisted with research into space-based defense systems.

They also urged West Germany not to join the project, the Strategic Defense Initiative, Chancellor Helmut Kohl said Thursday that Bonn supported the U.S. program and wanted to participate in the research.

Mikhail V. Zimyanin and Leonid M. Zamyatin, on a five-day visit to West Germany, said at a news conference that Moscow would insist on connecting the issues of space weapons and earth-based nuclear arsenals at the Geneva arms talks with the United States.

Mr. Zimyanin was present Thursday in the Bundestag when Mr. Kohl voiced his backing for the Strategic Defense Initiative, popularly known as "star wars."

Norway on Thursday became the first North Atlantic Treaty Organization country to reject the Reagan administration's invitation to participate in the research. A government statement issued in Oslo said Norway would not take part.

Mr. Zimyanin, the Kremlin's chief spokesman, said: "If the

United States carries out an enforced program for the militarization of space it could mean that the Soviet Union will not be able to reduce its strategic weapons."

If the U.S. declares itself ready to bar the militarization of space, then we are ready to agree to sharp reductions in nuclear weapons," he said.

The new Soviet leader, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, this month announced a freeze in the deployment of Soviet SS-20 medium-range missiles in Europe until November.

The United States dismissed the gesture as insignificant because, it said, the Soviet Union already has a 10-to-1 advantage in missile strength in Europe.

Mr. Zimyanin's comments appeared to harden indications that Moscow might refuse to accept any agreement on cutting back intercontinental and medium-range arms unless the U.S. agreed to negotiate a ban on the development of space weapons.

Mr. Zimyanin, who holds the powerful post of secretary in the Communist Party Central Committee, told Bonn that taking part in the space weapons research program would inevitably affect relations between the Soviet Union and West Germany.

"We heard with astonishment and concern that the leaders of the West Germany are ready to participate in working out the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative," Mr. Zimyanin said.

"It is incomprehensible that these people do not realize that the militarization of space would have a destabilizing effect on the European continent," he said.

Mr. Zimyanin said that Mr. Kohl's argument that participation was vital in order to gain access to new technology was "absurd."

■ Tass on Détente

Tass press agency said Friday that Washington's rejections of Soviet calls for moratoriums on the testing, development and deployment of nuclear weapons were frustrating a return to détente, United Press International reported from Moscow.

"U.S. official circles are not looking for points of contact between the two sides, but seek to rebuild the Cold War barrier that divides the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.," it said.

"They seek to prevent a recurrence of détente," Tass said.

WORLD BRIEFS

Spain Acquits 2 in Basque Killings

MADRID (Reuters) — Two of three alleged Basque guerrillas indicted from France last September have been acquitted of murder by Spanish court officials said Friday. They said the alleged ETA (Basque Homeland and Liberty) were acquitted because of lack of proof.

José Manuel Martínez Beiztegui, who was charged with taking part in an attack in a passyby was killed, was freed Thursday. He was charged with the killing of a civil guard, but was acquitted because he faces separate charges in connection with the killing of four civil guards. A ruling on the trial of the third man, Francisco Lujambio Galdéano, is expected before Monday.

The extraditions in September broke with French policy of not extraditing separatists living in France as political exiles and touched off a series of riots in the Basque region.

Karami, Assad Discuss Crisis in Beirut

DAMASCUS (Reuters) — Prime Minister Rashid Karami of Lebanon conferred Friday with President Hafez al-Assad of Syria on the political crisis set off by fighting among Muslim militias in West Beirut.

Mr. Karami, President Assad and Syria's vice president for political affairs, Abdel Halim Khaddam, discussed the crisis at a three-hour meeting, the official Syrian press agency reported.

Mr. Karami returned later to Beirut, where he has led a caretaker government since he resigned Wednesday. Beirut Radio said he refused to speak to reporters. The Syrian press agency SANA said that during the talks President Assad underlined his country's interest in maintaining "security and tranquility for all Lebanese."

Soviet Protests Montand Show on War

PARIS (Reuters) — The Soviet Union has protested to France about a television program in which Yves Montand, one of France's best-known entertainers, examined the prospects of an attack by the Warsaw Pact nations on Europe.

A spokesman at the Ministry for External Relations said Friday that France had rejected the protest. Mr. Montand, once a supporter of the French Communist Party, was the host on the show on channel FR3 Thursday. The show contained a montage of Soviet tanks, troops and helicopters in action and said that Warsaw Pact forces could overrun most of West Germany in a matter of days.

[In Moscow, Tass said Friday that the program was "designed to publicize the arms race and justify American plans for militarization of outer space." United Press International reported. Tass said that Mr. Montand acted as narrator because he sought "popularity as a herald of human-hating ideas, selling Reagan's 'star wars' and rabid anti-Sovietism."]

Nicaragua Reports Attack on Ships

MANAGUA (AP) — The Nicaraguan government said Friday that Honduran warplanes strafed two Nicaraguan coast guard boats Thursday, sinking one of them and killing a crew member.

A Foreign Ministry statement said the coast guard boats were on routine patrol in Nicaraguan waters when they tried to intercept a fishing vessel poaching in one of the keys. It said they then were attacked by three Honduran military jets.

Honduras said in a statement that two Honduran jets went to help the Honduran fishing vessel Tropik, which was being harassed by a Nicaraguan coast guard boat. The communiqué said the planes "drove off" the Nicaraguan coast guard boat, severely damaging it.

Chadli Concerned About Saharan War

WASHINGTON (NYT) — President Chadli Bendjedid of Algeria has voiced concern about growing tension in North Africa, accusing Morocco of spurning chances for a political settlement of the 10-year conflict in the Western Sahara.

He said King Hassan II of Morocco might be considering a full-scale military drive against the Algerian-backed Saharan insurgents. Colonel Chadli, who met with President Ronald Reagan on Wednesday, criticized Hassan for engaging "in delaying tactics to gain time, and maybe it's in his mind that a military, forceful solution is feasible." The king is a longtime U.S. ally.

Colonel Chadli said in an interview that King Hassan had "hardened" his position since he concluded a treaty of union last summer with Colonel Moammar Qadhafi of Libya.

Taiwan Admiral Convicted in Liu Case

TAIPEI (NYT) — The former head of Taiwan's military intelligence bureau was convicted and sentenced to life in prison Friday for plotting the murder of a Chinese-American writer last year.

Vice Admiral Wong Hsi-ling, the former intelligence chief, was convicted by a military court as a principal in the killing of the writer, Henry Liu, who wrote a critical biography of Taiwan's president, Chiang Ching-kuo. Mr. Liu was shot to death in the garage of his Daly City, California, home in October last year.

The verdict came little more than a week after two leaders of Taiwan's criminal gang, the Bamboo Union, were convicted and sentenced to life in prison in a Taipei district court for planning and carrying out the murder of Mr. Liu. The court said Admiral Wong had arranged the slaying with the gang leaders.

For the Record

The execution of James D. Briley, 28, was carried out Thursday night in the electric chair at Virginia State Penitentiary. He had been convicted of three murders.

Tancred Neves, the president-elect of Brazil, was in "extreme critical condition" Friday after the failure of vital organs, a government spokesman said.

Search planes located the wreckage of a U.S. Air Force jet fighter that crashed Thursday off the northern coast of Honduras. Air force officials said Friday that there was little hope of the two American crewmen being found alive.

Reagan Bows to Congress, Postpones Bid for Rebel Aid

(Continued from Page 1)

military aid will be provided for the rest of the fiscal year.

Asked if rebel military aid now was dead for 1985, the House Republican whip, Trent Lott of Mississippi, said: "I think so."

James A. McClure, the Idaho Republican who is handling the issue in the Senate, said: "It's pretty clear that military aid is dead for an extended period of time."

But the Republicans indicated that the administration would renew its fight for military aid when Congress allocates foreign assistance for the 1986 fiscal year, which begins Oct. 1. "This is not the last vote on this issue," Mr. Lott said.

Last year, the administration requested \$14 million in military funds for the rebels, to be funneled through the Central Intelligence Agency. Congress allocated the money but stipulated that it could not be released until the new session of Congress voted to do so.

With congressional opposition to his request growing, Mr. Reagan proposed a new approach last month, that the aid would be used only for humanitarian purposes if Nicaragua's ruling Sandinistas agreed to begin negotiations with the rebels and those talks produced results within 60 days. If not, the money would be converted automatically into military assistance.

This offer won few converts and Republican leaders have been telling the president's request failed virtually certain defeat. Lawmakers who have talked recently with Mr. Reagan say he has a "real emotional commitment" to the rebel cause, as Representative John S. McCain, an Arizona Republican, put it.

As a result, the White House has been slow to respond to the advice

Renewal of Warsaw Pact Is Foreseen by Honecker

Reuters

BERLIN — Soviet bloc leaders will meet Friday in the Polish capital to renew the Warsaw Pact defense treaty for 20 years, Erich Honecker, the East German leader, was quoted as saying Friday.

Mr. Honecker told the Italian news agency ANSA in an interview Thursday that member countries of the pact had agreed unanimously on a renewal of the treaty that expires officially May 14 after 30 years.

The interview text was released Friday in East Berlin.

The seven members will also reserve an option to extend the treaty a further 10 years, Mr. Honecker said. In addition to the Soviet Union, members of the pact are Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria.

"The situation now is not particularly good," ANSA quoted Mr. Honecker as saying. "We are in favor of an extension."

The Warsaw Pact was officially set up as a response to the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the military alliance of the United States, Canada and West European nations.

"Of course, we are ready to dissolve the Warsaw Pact if NATO were dissolved as well," he said, repeating Soviet bloc policy expressed in the existing treaty.

Mr. Honecker did not specify

whether there would be changes in the new treaty but, asked if differences with Romania over pact policy were reflected in the document, he replied: "We are unanimous."

The Soviet press agency, Tass, announced earlier that the meeting would take place in Warsaw late this month, but it gave no date.

Soviet sources here say the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party is to meet Tuesday in Moscow.

It is not clear whether Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, will seek to initiate any changes in pact policy. The meeting will be Mr. Gorbachev's first summit meeting with the other East European leaders since he succeeded Konstantin U. Chernenko, who died last month.

Mr. Honecker, who is scheduled to hold talks Tuesday in Rome in his first visit to a NATO country, said a meeting between Mr. Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan could help reduce international tensions.

Sudanese Rebels To Renew Warfare Against Khartoum

Reuters

CAIRO — Sudan's southern rebels said Friday that they were renewing their bush war after a brief truce with the military rulers who overthrew President Gaafar Nimeiri in a coup earlier this month.

The rebel radio called the new military leadership "another form of the regime of dictator Nimeiri."

It rejected as baseless reports from Khartoum on Thursday that the rebel leader, Colonel John Garang, was flying to the Sudanese capital for peace talks with the new military leader, General Abdul Rahman Swahidhab.

The radio of Colonel Garang's Sudanese People's Liberation Army was monitored by the BBC.

General Swahidhab has in recent days offered to meet Colonel Garang, a U.S.-educated dissident officer, and has addressed several grievances of the people in the south, which is populated mainly by Christians and animists.

He rescinded General Nimeiri's unpopular 1983 division of the autonomous southern region into three provinces and pledged to revise the Islamic law, or sharia, introduced by General Nimeiri the same year.

Gorbachev Impressed U.S. Visitors

By Walter Pincus

WASHINGTON — "If an evil empire does exist, let it exist. I'm sure remaining the Soviet Union is not a goal of the United States."

That remark — playing off President Ronald Reagan's blunt description of the Soviet Union as "an evil empire" — was made by Mikhail S. Gorbachev early in his Kremlin meeting with the U.S. speaker of the House, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., and three other members of Congress last week.

According to one of the visitors, Representative Silvio O. Conte, a Republican of Massachusetts, Mr. Gorbachev's confident, outspoken manner convinced the Americans that he was new-style, even "Westernized" leader.

Mr. Conte's detailed notes of the session, which lasted nearly four hours, provide a vivid portrait of Mr. Gorbachev.

On new weapons, for example, he said flatly that the United States "must give up this program" for developing a missile defense system.

He noted a conflict between the Reagan administration's statements that it "can't give up research" on space defense while simultaneously saying that all issues are "on the table" at the Geneva negotiations.

"You are not talking to Tanzania

or Uganda," Mr. Gorbachev said pointedly.

He said that if the United States continues to develop a space-based defense, the Soviet Union would push ahead on building additional offensive missiles. These "would cost 20 times less" than the U.S. defensive system, and would push the United States further into debt, he said.

Noting American economic difficulties, Mr. Gorbachev said: "Maybe we should wait. Maybe you'll want to talk when things get worse."

On a few occasions Mr. Gorbachev emphasized a point with emotion, leading one of the lawmakers to describe him as "quite an actor."

Mr. Gorbachev slammed his fist on the table and pointed to an interpreter as he gave the tough part of an answer — to a question about the recent shooting of a U.S. military officer in East Germany.

As he argued for a moratorium on construction of nuclear weapons, he asked almost plaintively, "What do we do with all the weapons we have? Let's stop."

"I get information from Geneva every day," Mr. Gorbachev said, speaking of the continuing arms control negotiations, "and I'm not inspired. What do we see in Geneva today? Marking time. Geneva should not turn into a debate. Otherwise the teams in Geneva will be eating their way through piles of gold rubles, drinking coffee, sipping tea, while mountains of arms continue to be built."

When the Americans raised the subject of human rights, Mr. Gorbachev showed the traditional Soviet anger on the subject, saying that his country's internal policies were being attacked.

"You have your laws," he said, "we have our own laws." Then he added: "I was a lawyer. I studied American law." Mr. Gorbachev graduated from the law faculty of Moscow State University.

There were a few sparks of political black humor. When Mr. O'Neill, a Democrat of Massachusetts, remarked that the relatively little-known Mr. Gorbachev had come from out of nowhere to assume power, the Soviet leader responded: "There are lots of places to hide in the Soviet Union."

The Americans present, including the U.S. ambassador to Moscow, Arthur A. Hartman, who was the official note-taker, were impressed by Mr. Gorbachev's extensive preparation for the meeting.

Mr. Gorbachev brought with him sheets of paper on which were paragraphs reporting what members of congressional delegations had said during earlier meetings on various issues. Some were underlined in green, others in red.

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Botha Attacks Opponents Over Unrest

By Richard Bernstein

CAPE TOWN — President Pieter W. Botha said Friday that South Africa was "dominated by a drastic escalation of the revolutionary climate in the country" and accused religious and political opposition groups of seeking "the destruction of our system of government and civilized values."

Mr. Botha was speaking to Parliament a day after five persons were killed by police in rioting in the black townships near Uitenhage in eastern Cape Province. He said that the potential for extensive nationwide violent disturbances has increased markedly.

Mr. Botha's statement Friday seemed unusually harsh and appeared to be in response to the increasing racial violence in the country.

In addition to the five blacks killed Thursday evening, a 19-year-old white man was pulled from a car near Uitenhage, doused with gasoline and set afire by a band of 30 people, the police said. The injured man, who was taken to hospital, was listed in stable condition Friday.

In his speech, Mr. Botha made what appeared to be a major concession to longstanding black demands. He said that the right to be granted to certain black residents of South African cities, a move that would apparently legitimize permanent black habitation of areas where they were once only supposed to be transients.

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Analysts Agree on U.S. Ascendancy in Asia, but Not on Why

(Continued from Page 1)

with an army of 1.2 million; the army is the fourth largest in the world after those of China, the Soviet Union and the United States. Per capita income is estimated by the State Department to be about \$125 a year, only about one-fourth that of its ASEAN neighbors.

In 1954, President Eisenhower evoked an image of U.S. stakes in Vietnam that was, in one form or another, used by all of his successors through Richard M. Nixon.

"You have a row of dominoes set up," Eisenhower said. "You knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly."

To Eisenhower, this meant Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, the Malay peninsula, Indonesia and, perhaps, the rest of Asia.

Mr. Nixon expanded on this domino theory during his presidency, saying that the loss of Vietnam would reduce the United States to "a pitiful, helpless giant" and destroy U.S. credibility worldwide.

dispute that credibility was if not because of the loss of Vietnam but because the United

States seemed deeply divided and turning inward.

However, while Laos and Cambodia fell, as almost all predicted, the other Asian dominoes stood.

Mr. Lord argued that in this "the most crucial factor was the opening to China" in 1971, two years before the Paris cease-fire agreement ending U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War and four years before the final debacle in Saigon.

This helped to put Indochina in perspective and ease the pain of our exit, and restrain Hanoi," he said.

Mr. Scalapino stressed that the loss of Vietnam "raised questions about American credibility, but it also raised the question of Asian self-reliance."

That element of self-reliance is central to Mr. Zagoria's analysis.

"Revolutions," he said, "though influenced by external factors, are largely determined by indigenous factors."

Thailand and Indonesia, he argued, were able to get themselves together politically, economically and militarily to beat down Communist insurgencies.

"The Philippines proves the point," he said. "Unlike the rest of Southeast Asia, they didn't have

the economic dynamism, commitment to equity and leadership," and so their insurgency has gotten out of hand "with no noticeable external support."

But, and here is the nub of the debate, did U.S. involvement in Vietnam delay the flowering of U.S.-Chinese ties and Asian self-reliance and growth, or did it make those developments possible?

Did, for example, the war blind U.S. leaders to the historical tensions and conflicts between China and the Soviet Union, and China and Vietnam?

William P. Bundy, assistant secretary of state for East Asian affairs in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, said in an interview: "No, I was aware of the splits."

But the record does not show that many other officials were.

In any event, Mr. Bundy maintained that the Asian countries "were much stronger by the time the war ended, and all of that had some relationship to our being in Vietnam." They were "not as jittery as they were in 1964." In other words, the war gave them time to get their houses in order.

Mr. Holbrooke countered that "2,000 years of Chinese-Vietnamese enmity and hundreds of years of Chinese and Russian mutual suspicions were suspended when they united against us in Vietnam."

He added: "We could not improve relations with Japan, develop our relations with China or give impetus to ASEAN self-reliance until we ended our involvement in Vietnam."

Those who made U.S. policy, he said, "put American prestige on the line in that place in the world where we had the least chance of success and, in the name of strengthening America, they weakened it. The Vietnam ball had to be lanced before the rest was possible."

Was the U.S. effort in Vietnam worth it?

Mr. Bundy, one of the main ar-

Hungarian Registers Rare Abstinence in Vote

BUDAPEST — In a rare display of opposition to the Communist government, a member of Hungary's parliament said Friday he had abstained in a vote on a new education law because he disagreed with official education policies.

Istvan Kiraly told the daily newspaper, Magyar Hirlap, he had abstained because he felt present policies prevented schools from meeting society's need to train elites. "Schools cannot cope properly with the tasks of providing simultaneous progress for all," he said. "We should be able to provide more options for the talented."

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BRIEFS

Basque Killings
 o of the alleged Basque guerrillas have been acquitted of murder charges. They said the alleged assassins were acquitted because of lack of evidence.

Discuss Crisis in Beirut
 Prime Minister Rashid Karim of Lebanon has said that Syria and Iraq are the main causes of the crisis in Beirut. He said that the crisis is a result of the Syrian and Iraqi intervention in Lebanon.

Montand Show on TV
 viet Union has protested to France's television network, one of France's largest, against an attack by the Western media on the Soviet Union.

Procter & Gamble
 The company has announced that it will be selling its 13 original U.S. stars. The stars were first sold in 1982, when the company was getting 15,000 phone calls a month about the rumors, most of which arose from chain letters.

Ports Attack on Ship
 Nicaraguan government said that two Nicaraguan coast guard boats were attacking a U.S. ship. The ship was carrying humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan coast.

ed About Saharan
 President Chadli Benjedid of Algeria has said that the Algerian government is not involved in the Saharan conflict. He said that the Algerian government is only a mediator in the conflict.

I Convicted in Lin
 mer head of Taiwan's military intelligence was convicted of espionage. He was convicted of passing on to the Chinese government information about Taiwan's military capabilities.

ws to Congress
 Bid for Rebel
 of its allies on Capitol Hill. The bid is for a compromise bill that would allow the U.S. to provide humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan coast guard.

Europeans Lobby
 Winston Churchill, a member of the British House of Commons, has said that the British government should not provide humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan coast guard. He said that the British government should only provide humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan coast guard if the U.S. government does so.

U.S. Aides Resign
 After Criticism
 Of Handicapped
 Washington Post Service
 WASHINGTON — Eileen Marie Gardner, a special assistant in the Department of Education, has resigned following a public outcry over her remarks about handicapped people.

Soviet Installation
 setting up a communications network in northern Vietnam. The network is being set up to monitor the U.S. military's movements in Vietnam. The network is being set up by the Soviet military.

AMERICAN TOPICS



SHAKING UP THE CAST — Los Angeles emergency personnel made use of movie sets at Universal Studios to add realism during tests of the city's preparedness for a major earthquake. Scientists have concluded that the chances are "high" that the Los Angeles area will be struck by a quake of very great magnitude in the next several years.

Procter & Gamble Bedeviled Anew

Procter & Gamble, the U.S. conglomerate that sells \$13 billion worth of Ivory Soap and other household products, is being bedeviled again by rumors that it is in league with the devil. These rumors, it says, stem from its 100-year-old trademark: a man in the moon, a popular decorative theme in the 1880s, that is surrounded by 13 stars representing the 13 original U.S. states.

The rumors first peaked in 1982, when the company was getting 15,000 phone calls a month about the rumors, most of which arose from chain letters circulated in fundamentalist Protestant sections of the South and Southwest. Now the rumors have mushroomed again, to 6,000 calls a month, mostly coming from Roman Catholic neighborhoods in the Northeast. Procter & Gamble has publicly denounced "false and malicious rumors associating the company with Satanism." The company says it cannot estimate the effect on sales, but it has hired two detective agencies, Pinkerton Inc. and Wackenhut Corp., to track down the chain-letter writers.

Short Takes

Ten years ago last Monday, Karen Ann Quinlan fell into an irreversible coma, apparently brought on by a mixture of alcohol and a tranquilizer. Although she was taken off an artificial respirator nine years ago, she lin-

gers on in a nursing home in Morris Plains, New Jersey. Now 31, she weighs 65 pounds (30 kilograms). The taxpayers pay the \$32,500 annual cost of her treatment. She is fed through a tube. Under a law passed in January, the tube could be removed, but her parents, who visit her every day, refuse that. Her father, Joseph Quinlan, says, "It is in God's hands now."

One American woman in five waits until marriage to begin sexual activity, according to a just-published study, conducted in 1982 by the U.S. government's National Center for Health Statistics. The report said, "The proportion of women who delayed sexual intercourse until marriage declined from 48 percent among women marrying during the period 1960-64 to 21 percent."

The names of more than 300 Vietnam War dead will be added to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington. They had been excluded because they were killed outside the official war zone. Many were members of air crews killed when their bombers crashed into the Pacific en route to Vietnam.

"I'm from Missouri, you've got to show me," is a popular saying in that state. The state's automobile license plates carry the words "Show-Me State." The Division of Tourism turned out the Best Time Every Show You the Best Time Every Show, which was cumbersome, especially for a license plate. Now a bill is before the state legislature to put

"Wake Up to Missouri" on the tags. Not everyone is for it. State Representative Mark Youngdahl said it would mean exchanging heritage for "the latest billboard slogan."

All the President's Slogans, Engraved

During the more than four years that Ronald Reagan has occupied the White House, the New York Times reports, his desk in the Oval Office has accumulated eight plaques, ashtrays and paperweights from friends and political allies, bearing these slogans:

- Babe Ruth struck out 1,330 times.
- IT CAN be done.
- The buckaroo stops here.
- Make no mistake about it. You really made my day. (Commemorating a House vote releasing funds for more MX missiles).
- The most important goal in my life is to have some significant impact on extending and preserving the realm of personal freedom in the life of this country.
- There is no limit to what a man can do and where he can go if he doesn't mind who gets the credit.
- A thought for today: You can be too big for God to use but you can't be too small.
- Illegitimi non carborundum ("Engineers' Latin" for "Don't let the bastards grind you down.")

— Compiled by ARTHUR HIGBEE

Reagan Visit Will 'Shame' U.S., Jewish Leader Says

By Francis X. Clines
 New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Elie Wiesel, the chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, has pleaded publicly with Secretary of State George P. Shultz to dissuade President Ronald Reagan from visiting the German cemetery that includes Nazi war dead.

"Mr. Secretary, please be our emissary," Mr. Wiesel said Thursday, turning to Mr. Shultz at a mournful ceremony at the Capitol honoring the American liberation of the German death camps of World War II. "Tell those who need to know that our pain is genuine, our outrage deep and our perplexity infinite."

Mr. Wiesel spoke before learning of the president's remarks Thursday in which Mr. Reagan contended that both the Jews slain in the Holocaust and some of the soldiers, many of them drafted, buried in the cemetery were victims of Nazism.

Later, as the 65 presidential appointees to the Holocaust Memorial Council debated mass resignations in protest, Mr. Wiesel counseled caution but voiced shock at Mr. Reagan's latest comments.

"To compare the victims to Nazi soldiers may suggest that he doesn't know what it meant to be a Jewish victim in those times. Does he really think that German sol-



Elie Wiesel, chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, addresses a ceremony in Washington commemorating the liberation of Jews from concentration camps in Germany.

diers felt what we felt in Buchenwald and Treblinka in the shadow of the flames? Have they seen what we have seen — selections, executions and mass murder?"

Mr. Shultz, whose remarks followed, said he shared the concern that, in the current spirit of reconciliation with West Germany, "there is no place for understanding for those who took part in the perpetration of the Nazi horror."

Because of the growing controversy, Mr. Reagan has decided to add a stop to commemorate the six million Jews killed in the German

death camps, but Mr. Wiesel issued a plea that, in addition, the visit to the cemetery should be dropped.

Mr. Wiesel said Friday that he would go to the White House and accept a congressional gold medal from the president, United Press International reported from Washington.

"The question was not whether to accept," he said in a television interview. "I couldn't but accept with gratitude." Mr. Wiesel added: "The question was whether to accept it at this time."

Reagan's Misstatements Pose a Chronic Problem

By Bernard Weinraub
 New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Despite his reputation as a dazzling performer and persuader, Ronald Reagan has made a series of often inexplicable misstatements over the years that have angered many constituencies, mired him in political trouble and damaged even his close associates and admirers.

Standing by his decision to lay a wreath at a German military cemetery next month, Mr. Reagan said Thursday that most of the soldiers buried there were as much victims of the Nazis as the inmates of the concentration camps.

"I think," Mr. Reagan said, "that there is nothing wrong with visiting that cemetery where those young men are victims of Nazism, also, even though they were fighting in the German uniform, drafted into service to carry out the hateful wishes of the Nazis. They were victims, just as surely as the victims in the concentration camps."

Mr. Reagan's likening of dead Nazi soldiers to Jewish victims of the Nazis is only the latest in a series of comments by him that have offended suffering or disadvantaged groups.

In past years, some blacks, elderly recipients of Social Security re-

irement and disability payments, farmers, women and welfare recipients have questioned Mr. Reagan's sensitivity to their conditions.

These occasional remarks are part of an enduring leitmotif in Mr. Reagan's political career, and conservative analysts and some close

NEWS ANALYSIS

aides acknowledge they have created the impression that he suffers from a historical blind spot.

Two conservative commentators, who have spoken admiringly of Mr. Reagan in other regards, Kevin Phillips and Paul M. Weyrich, attributed Mr. Reagan's troubles in part to his years in the relatively insular world of Hollywood.

"I think that his Hollywood background has sometimes prevented him from being sensitive enough to the realities that are out there," said Mr. Weyrich, the leader of several conservative causes. "Because of his background in motion pictures he relies on people who direct and write the scripts and when you don't have competent people writing the script you have serious problems."

Beyond this, political scientists and even critics of Mr. Reagan say

his comments Thursday about the Nazi years hardly reflect prejudice but a vision that is, essentially, narrow, unbalanced and with little historical perspective.

"People sense no meanness or vindictiveness there," said Thomas E. Mann, executive director of the American Political Science Association. "They attribute what he says to political naivete."

In terms of comments and political style, some political commentators say the impact of Mr. Reagan's years in Hollywood cannot be underestimated.

"He has a movie America view; he's always looking for heroic endings," said Mr. Phillips, who is president of the American Political Science Association.

Concerning Mr. Reagan's visit to the cemetery at Bitburg, Mr. Phillips tied the decision partly to the president's relative insularity in the White House, coupled with poor staff work. Like supporters as well as critics, Mr. Phillips observed that Mr. Reagan, as far back as the 1940s and 1950s, has been a strong supporter of Israel and Jewish causes.

Although the Bitburg decision and Mr. Reagan's comments may prove to be the most serious error he's ever made," Mr. Weyrich said, the

U.S. Spy Says TRW Had Lax Security

By Kathy Sawyer
 Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — A convicted spy, Christopher J. Boyce, has testified before a Senate hearing that employees at the California headquarters of TRW Systems Group treated security as a joke.

He told a Senate hearing Thursday that employees who worked in TRW's "black vault" filled with sensitive government information used a "classified" satchel to smuggle in peppermint schnapps and that they used a machine for destroying code cards to make banana daiquiris, which they drank on duty.

In this atmosphere during night and weekend hours starting in 1975, Mr. Boyce said, he was able, at age 21, to remove or photograph secret documents concerning the operation of highly secret U.S. intelligence satellites. He was convicted of selling the information to Soviet agents.

Mr. Boyce, whose espionage was depicted in the book and movie "The Falcon and the Snowman," said he is helping the government because, after a lifetime of trying to tear things down, he wants to perform "a constructive act."

Convicted in 1977 on eight counts of espionage, he is serving a 40-year sentence in an isolation cell in a federal prison in Marion, Illinois. His espionage partner, Andrew Daulton Lee, is serving a life sentence.

The hearing was the last in a five-month investigation by the permanent subcommittee on investigations of the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee. The inquiry in-

dicated that the system for protecting defense secrets is collapsing because of bureaucratic infighting, a swelling workload and lack of government leadership.

Officials of TRW, one of the Central Intelligence Agency's principal suppliers of reconnaissance satellites, maintained Thursday that security procedures were "sound" in the period since 1975 and called Mr. Boyce's charges "exaggerated." But they acknowledged that a government investigation had found "limited use of alcohol on the premises" and "poor security supervision."

"That makes me wonder how serious you've been about correcting these things," Senator Sam Nunn, a Democrat of Georgia, said.

Mr. Boyce testified that a fellow employee used a photo of a monkey on his security badge and gained access to secret information.

Paul W. Schwegler, a TRW executive, said: "I've seen that badge. I find it extremely difficult to believe that badge was used." He said that accountability for badges and other security measures have been strengthened.

No matter how security is improved, Mr. Boyce said, it will not work without debunking myths glorifying espionage as exciting, sexy and lucrative. Mr. Boyce blamed the entertainment industry and government security briefers for portraying treason in a way that is "just what all those bored, young secretaries" with secret clearances are "dying to hear."

The truth about the spy business is "sweaty palms and shaky hands ... and gut-gripping fear," he said.

U.S. Air Force Removes Ban on Contracts for GE

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The U.S. Air Force has announced that it is restoring most of the eligibility for the General Electric Co. to bid on government contracts three weeks after the company was suspended from such bidding.

The company's Space Systems division, which has been charged with altering time cards in a way that defrauded the government, will remain barred from federal contracting while the air force reviews additional corrective actions, the air force announced Thursday.

The purported alterations resulted in a federal indictment of the company March 26 and GE's temporary suspension from obtaining new Defense Department contracts.

The announcement said that, because of improvements in the company's accounting procedures, all other GE divisions could again bid for contracts.

Despite the suspension, Space Systems, which accounts for less than 3 percent of GE's sales, recently received a \$4.4-million award from the air force on military satellite projects.

In Guatemala, a Rights Group Battles Fear, Murder and the Government

By Stephen Kinzer
 New York Times Service

GUATEMALA — Ten months ago, six people founded a human rights organization called the Mutual Support Group for the Appearance Alive of Our Relatives. Today, only two of the six remain. Two have been killed, one in exile and another has left the group out of fear.

The two remaining directors, Nineth de Garcia and Isabel de Castanosa, said this week that they hoped to keep their group alive. But the two young women clearly are terrified.

The deaths of their two colleagues were just one indication of the continuing political violence in Guatemala, where the military has pledged to turn power over to civilians after elections this year. The deaths also illustrated the extreme difficulty of organized protest

while the military remains in control. In interviews, the remaining directors, both in their 20s, appeared shaken and confused. After months of emotional agony in their search for their husbands, who have disappeared, they now confront a barrage of death threats that, diplomats say, are chillingly credible.

At least three nations have quietly offered asylum to the two women if they choose to leave Guatemala for a time. But for now, they will stay, venturing into the streets only when accompanied by friends from the United States.

The Mutual Support Group sponsored a protest march in Guatemala City on Saturday, in which more than 1,000 people peacefully took part. But more public demonstrations are not expected soon.

"The group is in crisis now," said Mrs. Garcia, whose husband, a university student and trade union ac-

tivist, disappeared after being abducted in February 1984. "A lot of people have dropped out. Those of us who are left have to decide what to do next."

At the end of March, one leader of the group, Hector Gomez Calixto, was abducted. When his body appeared, his tongue had been cut out.

Soon afterward, Rosario Godoy Alfaro de Cuevas, 24, was found dead in an automobile with her brother and 3-year-old son. The police said the deaths were accidental, but this week many Guatemalans and diplomats said they doubted that explanation.

Political violence in Guatemala has taken many thousands of victims over the last 30 years. Much of the violence has been attributed to factions in the military or security forces.

When the Mutual Support Group was founded last year, Mrs.

Garcia said, "We were innocent and naive."

After their initial pleas for relatives fell on deaf ears, they quickly stepped up their protests. Members staged a march to dramatize their plight, disrupted a session of the Constituent Assembly and began noisy demonstrations in front of government office buildings.

"I wouldn't say we were politicized," Mrs. Garcia said. "Our awareness of reality was increased."

In the last few months, the government has issued several warnings to the Mutual Support Group. The interior minister, Gustavo Adolfo Lopez Sandoval, asserted that subversives had infiltrated the group. The chief of state, General Oscar Mejia Victores, asserted last month that the group was "funded by extremist elements."

A commission of government officials, appointed by General Mejia Victores, recently reported that it could find no evidence of clandestine detention centers in Guatemala. But the general said the investigation would continue.

Politicians have pledged to attend to the question of missing people after a new government takes over in January.

"The first thing a civilian government will do is open all the prisons to see who is alive and who isn't," said Jorge Carpio Nicolle, a leading presidential candidate. Mr. Carpio said that members of the Mutual Support Group "have every right to continue protesting." But, he acknowledged, if they do so now "there is a risk."

Most political leaders say they believe the military will carry out its pledge to hold elections in Octo-

ber, chiefly because of the seriously deteriorating economy. But any elected president can expect to find the consolidation of civilian rule difficult.

Leaflets, recently distributed in the capital, carried a purported endorsement of the Mutual Support Group by Marxist rebels.

The leaflets praised the human rights activists as "comrade revolutionaries" and congratulated their U.S. supporters for "being conscious of the criminality and decadence of imperialism" and for supporting "the struggle of oppressed people, which knows no national boundaries."

Mrs. Garcia and Mrs. Castanosa fear that more activists will be killed if the Mutual Support Group continues its public campaign. Yet they want to do all they can for their missing husbands. It is a dilemma the remaining members of the group will begin discussing at a meeting this weekend.

"These women are convinced that their husbands are alive," said a newspaper editor who has followed the group's activities. "They can't go to bed at night without thinking of their husbands chained to the wall of a dank cell somewhere. How can you tell them to lay back and be quiet for a while?"

U.S. Aides Resign Investment Banker Is Named Deputy U.S. Secretary of State

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Eileen Marie Gardner, a special assistant in the Department of Education, has resigned following a public outcry over her remarks about handicapped people.

Mrs. Gardner had said that handicapped people had "ridiculously drained resources from the normal school population" and that efforts to help the disabled were "misguided."

Another new appointee, Lawrence A. Uzzell, also resigned under fire Thursday for his remarks that every federal program for elementary and secondary education, including aid to the handicapped, should be abolished. He had been named to lead the Reagan administration's tuition tax-credit initiative.

Anne Graham, assistant secretary for public affairs, announced the two resignations after the two aides engaged in an emotional clash with Senator Lowell P. Weicker Jr., a Republican of Connecticut, at a hearing of the appropriations subcommittee that oversees the Education Department's budget. Mr. Weicker's son was born with Down's syndrome.

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — A retired Wall Street investment banker, John C. Whitehead, has been nominated to be the next deputy secretary of state. If confirmed by the Senate, he would replace Kenneth W. Dam, who is resigning to become a vice president of IBM.

The announcement was made Thursday by Secretary of State George P. Shultz. Speaking with both men at his side, Mr. Shultz seemed moved by the loss of Mr. Dam, a lawyer who has worked with him since 1970. He recalled that "about the first thing I did after being asked by the president to be secretary of state was reach for the phone and call my friend, Ken Dam, and ask him to join me."

Mr. Whitehead, who is 63, retired in August as co-chairman of Goldman, Sachs & Co., a Wall Street investment banking house. He has served as president of the International Rescue Committee, which assists political refugees around the world. He brings to the job no apparent expertise in international diplomacy, but the No. 2 State Department position has often been filled by prominent figures from law or business.

Mr. Shultz said that, in deciding

who should replace Mr. Dam, he gave special attention to those in investment banking.

"Having had a little experience in that area," he said, "I noticed that investment bankers have all those characteristics that we need here."

"You've got to think pretty fast sometimes," Mr. Shultz added, "and you've got to keep cool and you've got to be able to bounce back a little."

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Behind the Slipping GNP

The sharp slowdown of the U.S. economy in this year's first quarter further erodes the credibility of the Reagan administration's predictions and policies for 1985. The remaining quarters will probably be stronger, but the risks of tight money are now enhanced and the need to reduce the federal deficit has become even more urgent.

The Commerce Department estimates the gross national product's real growth in the winter months, after allowing for inflation, was at the annual rate of 1.3 percent. That is the slowest quarterly growth since the current recession began. The rate was three times as large in the last quarter of 1984. There is no need yet to prepare for another recession. Such slowdowns do not necessarily snowball, but unemployment still exceeds 7 percent. Most forecasters still expect economic growth through 1985, but not at the 4 percent rate the administration predicted in preparing policy recommendations two months ago.

Slower growth is typical when an expansion has run beyond two years. The sluggish pace of

federal tax refunds caused by computer troubles added damage. But the huge trade deficit is the more profound, enduring problem.

The high value of the dollar has sucked in imports and severely hobbled American exports. And administration policies are clearly to blame for some of this damage. The dollar's strength has been sustained by the government's huge borrowings at high interest rates to finance the chronically high budget deficits.

Until recently, the administration rejected that connection. Now, evidently chastened by rising demands for protectionist curbs against imports, Washington officials have begun to point to the slowdown in growth as one more reason for action on the deficit.

There is no quick fix, because budget and export-import trends evolve only slowly. The Federal Reserve therefore has the immediate burden of guarding against excessively tight money. But its task would be more comfortable if the administration and Congress brought the budget deficits down.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

America's Harvest of Shame

Twenty-five years ago, Edward R. Murrow's documentary, "Harvest of Shame," aroused the American public's conscience by revealing the ghastly conditions in which migrant field workers toiled to bring a fresh, varied diet to the tables of the United States. Since then, when migrant workers are found held in bondage or a migrant child dies from dysentery, public concern again flares. Congress may even tighten slightly the poorly enforced standards meant to curb abuses. But the ephemeral quality of this concern was highlighted by last week's decision by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration to kill a long-awaited rule requiring that fresh water and toilets be provided to field workers.

There is a sick-joke quality about the Labor Department's justification of its decision. OSHA's director, Robert Rowland, says that even if a federal standard had been set, it would have been laxly enforced. Well, he is certainly in a position to know how often his agency disregards its own rules. Mr. Rowland notes, moreover, that migrants in 13 states are already covered by some sort of sanitation standards. Perhaps he thinks those in other states can move across state lines when they feel the urge. After all, they are migrants.

We are not talking about unnecessary frills. Thousands of field workers and their children are forced to toil for long hours in the hot sun

with, at best, a bucket of contaminated water from which to drink and no access to toilet facilities. Numerous studies, including studies by Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore of workers on the nearby Delmarva Peninsula, have shown that, as a result of these primitive conditions, workers suffer high rates of infectious, parasitic and toxic diseases.

One expert, recently hired by OSHA to review the evidence, concluded that parasitic disease is more common among U.S. field workers than among Guatemalan children. And because the U.S. workers have nowhere to wash their hands and must relieve themselves in the fields, these diseases are passed on to nearby communities, and to consumers.

The compelling need, on both humanitarian and health grounds, is no longer seriously disputed. Even the farm organizations, which have traditionally opposed federal standards, have muted their opposition. One official told the Post last week that "many of our members are prepared to put this behind us." Advocates for the farm workers are prepared to appeal OSHA's decision in court. Labor Secretary-designate William Brock should ensure that appeal is not necessary. Mr. Rowland says his agency has "higher priority standards" to enforce. What priority can be higher than treating all people in America as human beings?

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

Victims of Experimentation

In a recent case, the nine justices of the Supreme Court agreed that Congress gave the Central Intelligence Agency broad powers to conceal information obtained from intelligence sources. Justices Brennan and Marshall, in a concurring opinion, would have defined "intelligence sources" more narrowly, but even they agreed with the result in the case at issue.

It is reasonable that the CIA be given special exemptions from the Freedom of Information Act, and in principle the court's decision is understandable. But this is more than a case of dry statutory interpretation. It involves real human beings who were severely injured.

In the 1950s, the CIA embarked on a program called MKULTRA to experiment with mind control in order to catch up with what was assumed to be dramatic Soviet and Chinese advances in this field. Eighty institutions and 185 private researchers had contracts with the CIA to perform this work. Many individuals became, without their consent, the subjects of psychiatric and drug experiments.

It is not known who most of these people are or what became of them. The plaintiffs in the case the Supreme Court decided tried to force the CIA to turn over records of the experiments so the victims could be traced and informed. They were unsuccessful.

From the few known cases, the results of the experiments were horrible. Some subjects, given LSD, suffered permanent mental impairment. Some committed suicide over drug-induced fears and depressions. Some research was carried out in Canada, where a private psychiatrist experimented on patients at the Royal Victoria Hospital in Montreal. A group of surviving victims, one the wife of a member of the Canadian Parliament, has sued the U.S. government for compensation; the CIA persists in denying liability, and the case has dragged on in court for more than four years.

In another case, involving an American whose family discovered the CIA's role in his suicide years afterward, compensation was awarded. But most of those who were the subjects of MKULTRA experiments still do not know it. These victims of government action must be found and cared for. The courts will not order the CIA to reveal the required information, but the agency, acting on its own, can trace many victims through its contractors. If this is not done, Congress, which ultimately makes the rules governing CIA activity, can order a search and provide compensation for the Canadians as well as the Americans involved. It is the only just and honorable thing to do.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

Other Opinion

Advice and Sympathy for Reagan

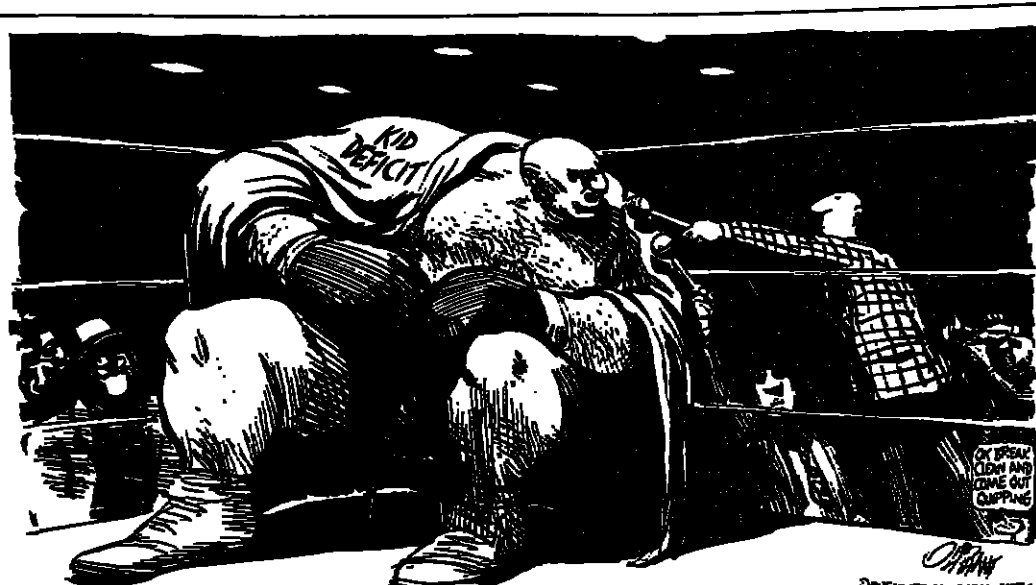
Here's some advice for President Reagan concerning his trip to West Germany: When in a hole, stop digging.

He has already alienated everyone from the American Legion to the Jewish community by his plans to lay a wreath at a German cemetery that contains SS graves. His defense of the ceremony made matters worse; [it was] speculatively tasteless.

—The New York Post.

[President Reagan] deserves some sympathy. Two currents of feeling are generated by the war anniversary that are to some extent at odds. Both are generous in impulse. The one finds cause for celebration in the liberation of Europe and the transformation of the German polity. The other insists that the crimes of Nazi-dominated Germany shall never be forgotten. The difference is sharp. It is no wonder if the president has failed to hit upon a symbolism that does justice to both.

—The Times (London).



... However, as an opponent one must admit he is a most engaging personality and a charming conversationalist. I am gonna moida da bum, anyway!

Clouds Over a Deficit-Ridden America

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON — As I was preparing to leave Washington for a trip to Spain, there was a strange ambivalence about the capital and the country I was temporarily abandoning.

Washington was as beautiful as ever in the spring and the nation seemed as prosperous and comfortable as I could remember it in all the years I have been traveling and reporting on its politics. But just beneath that placid surface there were apprehensions so deep that the mood seemed almost schizophrenic. Consciously and, I think, not foolishly, the question in my mind as I packed was whether the euphoric spell would be shattered by the time I got back.

I hope not. But three conversations, among many, will tell you why there were some dark clouds on the horizon of my imagination.

The first was with Representative James J. Florio of New Jersey, an able and conscientious Democratic legislator who had just decided not to run for the governorship of his state. Part of it, surely, was his recognition of the strength of the incumbent governor, Thomas H. Kean, but part of it was his sense that things are headed for a crisis that could make a race hazardous.

There is so much anger in the meetings I've been to between local officials and citizens," Mr. Florio said, "that it's painful to watch. With the cutbacks in federal aid, the local officials have to raise taxes or fees — and the people say they can't take any more. I find myself trying to keep people I like from hitting each other."

"It's the same way up here" in Congress, he added. "Reagan keeps pushing for more defense spending and blaming Congress for the deficit. And my colleagues are so frustrated they lash out at each other. It's really gotten mean."

The second conversation was with Richard A. Snelling, the estimable former governor of Vermont. He is working full-time, through an organization he created called Proposition One, lobbying without pay for major deficit cuts. To Mr. Snelling, that means spending cuts in both military and domestic programs and an increase in taxes.

Mr. Snelling, who had a successful business career and four terms as governor before retiring last year, said: "I'm an incurable optimist, but for the first time in my life, I'm scared. This deficit could do my country in."

Although an ardent Republican, he often challenged Mr. Reagan's fiscal policies when he was chairman of the National Governors' Association, and he is even more outspoken now.

"Ronald Reagan is a totally honest person," Mr. Snelling said, "and he believes we can grow our way out of this deficit. But last year the economy grew 6 percent — and the deficit increased. Reagan says he's cut taxes, but he's really just put the country on a tax holiday. We just haven't been sent the bill. I think we have six months, maybe a year, to start getting this under control, or it can destroy us."

My third talk was with Lee Iacocca, the Chrysler chairman whose autobiography has made him more of a folk hero than any other American businessman. He is a nominal Republican who is caustically critical of the leadership of both parties.

Mr. Iacocca talked as much about the trade deficit as he did the budget deficit. In blunt terms, he said he thinks the present national leadership lacks the guts to deal with either of them. Because of that belief, he has put his company on "idle speed" for the next three years, postponing plans for expansion of its domestic production facilities. He sees upheaval ahead.

"Unless we decide somehow to sit down and stop this flow of blood, there will be a radical change" in national leadership in 1988, he said. "The 100s are out of control. They're just piling up for our kids."

These were three separate conversations with three very different individuals who have major disagreements on most political issues. What was striking was the shared sense of deep apprehension — the belief that the bubble has to burst, and that the only question is when.

They all see the current economic prosperity and political euphoria as being a thin veneer covering the cracks in the foundations of American society. They all believe that delay in dealing with the deficits is putting the financial and political systems under a strain that could easily crack the country wide open.

I hope they are wrong. But I can't convince myself they are.

The Washington Post.

Reagan Can Learn From His Blunders on Germany

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — If you were planning a series of events to commemorate the Holocaust, and you were seeking some way, after 40 years, to revivify the nightmare of Nazi terror, what series of unlikely events would you hope for?

First you would have a team of White House advance men let it be known that the president of the United States would decline to visit a site

of a concentration camp during a visit to West Germany.

Then you would have the president both his answer at a news conference, giving as his reason a desire not to "impose" a sense of guilt on Germans for the murder of six million.

To top it off, to reach far beyond surviving Jews into the homes of tens of millions of American and German veterans, you would get the president to announce his incredible intention of laying a wreath at a cemetery that includes the graves of Nazi Waffen SS officers who may have been among those responsible for the murder of U.S. prisoners during the Battle of the Bulge.

In the ensuing outrage, our West German allies would be reminded that any attempt to forget the unforgivable will always be mightily resisted; Jews all over the world, including the forgetful, would be forced to look again into the abyss; and the generation of Americans who fought the last unconscionable war would rise to instruct its present leaders that state-sponsored evil is never a bygone.

Hard though it may be to believe, all the attention-getting blunders took place and the public's fierce reaction has been all that moralists and patriots could have hoped for.

White House advance men will remember the "Deaver debacle" for years, and no agent will soon repeat this farrago of unseemly acts and

insensitive judgments, but there is this to be said for all that has gone wrong: It has produced worthwhile results in several areas.

1. The post-landslide hubris of the Reagan image-makers has been reduced. The president's men are not public-relations geniuses and Mr. Reagan, as communicator, has shown himself to be capable of misjudging opinion and bobbling symbols.

2. This president has demonstrated a willingness to admit error publicly, rather than to "hang tough" to the bitter end. After his ill-briefed news conference, he went out of his way to tell interviewers: "I will say any time that anyone wants me to say it, as publicly as I can, that no, we must never forget." This week, he actually used the words "my mistaken impression" in connection with his earlier decision to forgo a visit to a death camp. Those forthright corrections are signs of strength and good sense.

3. He is now likely to strike the right balance in what he finally does. The balance is not to say "what's past is past" to Germans and "we must never forget" to Jews, which is contradictory, but to celebrate "40 years of peace" without ever forgetting what the war was about, which is not in the least contradictory.

This means a visit to a concentration camp buttressed, not balanced, by a memorial to a German such as Konrad Adenauer. The Bitburg cemetery is the wrong place to visit.

The New York Times.



Drawing by Chappell.

Albania: The Mouse That Roared May Roar Again

By William Pfaff

BOSTON — Albania is not ordinarily the subject of grave concern in the foreign offices of the West. This, today, may be a mistake. Albania is an interesting country, and now that Enver Hoxha is dead, the last of his kind, Albania becomes much more interesting. It might even become dangerous.

Albania has lived for 40 years in aggressive isolation, a result of Mr. Hoxha's rule but also of a peculiar history that has inclined Albanians to look upon outsiders with suspicion and find safety with family or clan. Its geographical isolation, and the combativeness of its people, are why British and American intelligence services launched an operation in 1949 to pry the country from the Soviet bloc, to which it belonged.

Making use of the same people and techniques that had been used to support Albanian guerrilla resistance to Axis occupation, several hundred men were infiltrated into the country over a period of four years to organize resistance to the Hoxha government. Half, at least, were killed or arrested. The operation failed because it was betrayed by Kim Philby, the British double agent who initially commanded the British side of the affair, and because it was badly carried out — but also simply because things that work in wartime don't always work in peacetime.

Resistance can be organized against an occupying army. This is not so easy when army and police are natives of the country, and when the national tradition is xenophobic and absolutist. The Illyria of classical times, Albania was under nominal Byzantine rule until the 14th century, becoming an Ottoman conquest in the 15th. As Ottoman power faded, Albanian rebellions in 1911-1912 compelled the Turks to concede autonomy, which was precariously main-

tained after the First World War, when the great powers set out to divide the country among its neighbors (it is only 120 miles long and 40 miles wide). Woodrow Wilson's commitment to national self-determination stopped that.

Ahmed Zogu, who had served in both Ottoman and Austrian armies, struggled to power in the 1920s, made himself president in 1925, and became King Zog in 1928. Eleven years later he was out, as Italy seized the country. The Partisan resistance that then developed depended upon the Yugoslav communists, and got its arms mainly from the Western Allies. The Soviet Union had no part in Albania's liberation.

Mr. Hoxha imposed an absolute rule on the country that owed something to the national tradition, and much to the Stalinism that had prevailed in the Communist International during the years of his own political formation. He committed the country to Stalin, and broke with Yugoslavia when Yugoslavia broke with the Soviet Union in 1948. He broke with Moscow, in turn, when the Russians broke with Stalinism and resumed relations with Yugoslavia. He broke with China in 1978, when China resumed relations with the Soviet Union.

It can safely be said that the key to Albanian policy was always the relationship with Yugoslavia, and the search for an external ally to guarantee Albania against what the Albanians have understood to be the permanent threat of partition and foreign domination. For more than a century, Yugoslavia (earlier Serbia) has controlled the region of Kosovo, where there now are one million Albanians — between a third and a

half as many as live today in Albania itself. Enver Hoxha's successor, Ramiz Alia, is talked about as a man who will open up the country, politically and culturally. There is no particular evidence for this; but isolation and autocracy will not be easy to maintain. Unlike Mr. Hoxha, educated in France and briefly a diplomat before the war, Mr. Alia scarcely knows the outside world. Since becoming a Partisan in his teens, he has made his career wholly within the Albanian Communist apparatus. He has, however, spoken of the need for economic reform.

The (so-called) Brezhnev doctrine, as announced by the Soviet Union at the time of its invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, holds that communism is an irreversible political condition, and that this theoretical point will be assured by the Soviet Army — at least, in those communist countries the Soviet Army can get at. In the Albanian case, there is a problem: Yugoslavia lies in the way.

This is why the Albanian situation is interesting. It has amply been shown in Eastern Europe that only the Soviet Army blocks the progress of nationalism, ideological deviation, revisionism, reform — and of democratization. Albania is poor and backward, but has already amply demonstrated its nationalism. It recently has improved relations with Italy (historically, its window to the West), Greece, and, guardedly, Yugoslavia. It will soon have a rail connection to Western Europe by way of Yugoslavia. Its Western trade has slowly been increasing. A few tourists come. Inevitably, new thought will come too. The Albanians have the means to decide their own future, and what they decide will have an echo in the rest of the communist world.

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Gorbachev: Hardball With a Softer Touch?

By Dimitri K. Simes

WASHINGTON — Mikhail S. Gorbachev does not need to be a super-statesman — though he may yet turn out to be one — to improve the conduct of Soviet foreign policy. For some 10 years, the Politburo could be relied upon to act in a clumsy and inept way that made most American administrations look good by default. From now on, this is unlikely to be true. There is, however, nothing to indicate that any superficial warming of relations will in the end lead to a genuine thaw.

True, there was nothing particularly impressive in either the substance or the delivery of Mr. Gorbachev's recent arms control initiative. The new Soviet leader coupled an acceptance (in principle) of a summit meeting with an appeal to freeze nuclear and space weapons, including an inherently unverifiable ban on research. He also declared a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. The snag is that Moscow has, for all practical purposes, completed its planned deployment of new missiles in Europe, and the moratorium will only last six months, unless the United States agrees to follow suit.

Mr. Gorbachev was certainly aware that this old trick, designed to conserve a considerable Soviet superiority, was tried by Leonid I. Brezhnev in 1982 and squarely rejected by the West. He could be under no illusions that the Western response would now be more enthusiastic, as it indeed was not.

Still, the outside world has learned to expect so little of Soviet leaders that even a rather trivial move such as this has been widely acclaimed as a masterly performance. Mr. Gorbachev scored a cheap point, and Washington got the signal that the Soviet Union may finally have a man in charge who knows how to play international hardball with a soft touch.

Mr. Gorbachev does, fortunately, seem intent on continuing Konstantin U. Chernenko's efforts to resume the superpower dialogue. His first concerns will be to consolidate his power and to get the totalitarian welfare state working again. The latter effort is bound to face serious opposition both from the elite, fearful of losing privileges, and from the people, who are reluctant to accept the hardships associated with reform. It would thus be illogical if he did not seek at least a stabilization of relations with the United States.

But Mr. Gorbachev has other reasons to seek a better relationship. The Russians are still smarting from the events of 1983, when the deployment of American missiles in Europe

pushed them to withdraw from arms control negotiations in Geneva, and they have learned the hard way that heightened tension does not necessarily work to their advantage.

Beyond this, Moscow is genuinely interested in using diplomacy to derail American military programs, particularly Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative.

Finally, the Soviet Union is as eager in need of trade with the West — and it hopes that greater economic cooperation with the United States would discourage Americans from pressing their allies to deny the Soviet Union high technology and easy credits.

It is no wonder that Mr. Gorbachev has been nice to American Congressmen visiting Moscow or that he responded favorably to President Reagan's invitation for a meeting. But Americans should have no illusions: The basic differences between the superpowers remain. There is no sign that a stabilization of relations will develop into a genuine accommodation between the two giants.

The new Soviet leader's energies and talents will, to a large degree, be directed toward goals inimical to American interests. What is more, if he succeeds in making his nation's economy more efficient, the Soviet military machine will benefit.

In arms control, Mr. Gorbachev seems to be pursuing a double-track diplomacy: Negotiate with the Reagan administration while trying to prevail in a battle for Western public opinion. It may prove impossible for the general secretary to outmaneuver the Great Communicator on his own ground, but, in a nuclear-arms Western Europe, not much skill is required to generate discontent.

In the Third World, the Russians feel overextended. But their reluctance to make new costly commitments does not amount to packing their bags and abandoning places where they have already invested resources and prestige. Moscow's attitude might best be called "assertive retrenchment": from Nicaragua to Angola, from Syria to Afghanistan, the Kremlin shows no willingness to seek a graceful exit. On the contrary, as Mr. Gorbachev warned Pakistan, Soviet patience with hostile guerrilla movements and their foreign supporters is wearing increasingly thin.

Is there any hope of a more far-reaching change in Soviet foreign policy? Possibly. The Politburo itself seems to realize that its international strategy is based on obsolete and flawed assumptions, including the belief that the global correlation of forces is constantly shifting in the Soviet Union's favor. If the Kremlin draws the right conclusions and accepts the need to scale down its messianic aspirations, everyone, including the Russians, would benefit.

The American policy toward the Soviet Union should be open-minded and nonprovocative. It is important particularly at this stage when Mr. Gorbachev is still developing his foreign policy for the Reagan administration to communicate an interest in a more regulated relationship. At the very least, the two countries should seek to pursue their overlapping interests — in environmental issues and nuclear nonproliferation, for example — in a more sustained and reliable way.

Little can be gained and a lot can be lost from giving Mr. Gorbachev the impression that nothing short of surrendering the fundamental interests of his regime would allow rapprochement with the United States. A "get acquainted" summit meeting coupled with an extension of the second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty and an agreement to expand non-strategic trade would be a much better way to reach out to him.

Yet Americans should not forget that the Politburo's tentative signs of moderation are, to a large degree, a product of Washington's efforts to discipline the Soviet Union. It was not American concessions but Western steadfastness — in developing the "star wars" program and deploying missiles in Europe — that brought the Russians back to the table in Geneva. America also has a part to play in the Third World, where rebels confronting the Soviet Union and its clients clearly add to the Kremlin's sense of overextension. Washington should continue and, when appropriate, expand its support of such forces.

Maintaining pressure on the Soviet Union is not an obstacle to a more constructive and stable relationship. On the contrary, it may be a condition for a thaw.

President Reagan will need both a firm hand and a fine touch in dealing with the Kremlin's new man.

The writer, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, contributed this comment to The New York Times.

LETTERS

Reagan's Visit

Regarding the report "Reagan's Lay Wreath at West German War Tomb" (April 14):

As a Pole, whose nation lost 20 million people at German hands 25 percent of the 1939 population, I wish to state my shocked surprise and anger at this mockery of the Polish human feelings. Who does President Reagan think he is, to behave in a way that must infuriate every European?

PIOTR KILAFKOWSKI
Solberg, Norway
So after a lot of shameful things, Righteous Ronald is going to visit German military cemetery (of course) And a concentration camp (of course) When he visits the latter, I can remember to spare a word for the approximately 50 percent of the Holocaust victims who were Jews. These people deserve some commemoration also.

AL ROSS

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Hardball er Touch?

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When he visits the land
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oration also.

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Sotheby Sales of Islamic Work
Show Unparalleled Confusion

International Herald Tribune
LONDON — The art market of
ten defies rational assessment,
but in no area does it do so as
blatantly as in what is convention-
ally called Islamic art. A round of
sales at Sotheby's from Monday to
Wednesday has pointed up the un-

SOURN MELIKIAN

paralleled degree of confusion that
characterizes this area.

The confusion is, first, one of
perception. The phrase "Islamic
art," widely used as it may be, is
about as meaningful as the phrase
"Christian art," would be if it were
used to describe anything produced
in the Christian world from the
early Middle Ages through the late
19th century. It covers the huge
production of Iran, with its long,
complex history; of the Arab coun-
tries, and of Turkey; and of the
highly diversified Islamic areas of
India. No single specialist could
possibly handle it all, and yet that
is what the auction houses' experts
must do. That they should occa-
sionally get it not quite right is only
too understandable.

Going through the huge two-day
sale of "Fine Oriental Manuscripts
and Miniatures" at Sotheby's, one
stumbled here and there upon un-
tenable attributions. Typically Iranian
manuscripts of the 15th and
16th century were described as
"Ottoman" — i.e., from Turkey —
for no plausible reason. A Koran
manuscript, with its layout, calli-
graphy and illumination matched by
many other Iranian manuscripts,
went down as "Qur'an, Arabic
manuscript on paper, copied by
Abdullah Ibn Rajab Ibn Abdullah
al-Khansari, Turkey, dated A.D.
1484." Khansari is a Persian name
and, in the absence of any indica-
tion to the contrary, there is no
reason to believe that the very Per-
sian-looking manuscript was copied
anywhere but in Iran. Another
Koran of the same school and peri-
od was labeled "Central Asia,"
again for no perceptible reason.

There is some irony in the fact that
both fared poorly. The first was
bought in at \$5,500 (about \$7,150)
and the second was sold for \$5,500.

One would at least expect consis-
tency in prices when it comes to
pages belonging to the same manu-
script with a definite location, a
date and a dedication to a well-
known sultan. But this was not the
case with successive auction ap-
pearances of Turkish miniatures
from a work called the "Siyar-i
Nabi" or "Life of the Prophet."

The six-volume manuscript,
"copied by Mustafa Ibn Vali for
the library of Sultan Murad III,"
was completed in 1595. Its numer-
ous miniatures illustrating episodes
from the Prophet's life were painted
in the workshop of Master Lutfi
Abdullah. The work could not be

more glamorous; volumes I, II and
VI are preserved in the museum
attached to the Topkapı Sarayı.
"The Palace of the Cannongate," in
Istanbul. Volume III found its way
to the New York Public Library
and Volume IV to the Chester
Beatty Library in Dublin. Volume
V is considered lost.

On March 23, 1984, four mini-
atures on pages that originally came
from the Chester Beatty volume
turned up at a Drouot auction in
Paris conducted by Bernard Oger
and Etienne Dumont. A special
catalog that the Drouot expert,
Jean Soustiel, had printed, was
widely distributed and one of the
miniatures skyrocketed to 550,000
francs, not counting the sales
charge — a world record for any
Turkish miniature. Two others
from the manuscript were knocked
down at 250,000 francs apiece. A
year later, five more pages from the
manuscript turned up at Drouot.
The auctioneer was Eric Buffetard.
The expert was again Jean Soustiel,
who, as before, sent out the catalog
to collectors and museum curators
around the world. The response
was as weak this time as it had been
enthusiastic before. Foreign dealers
such as Spink of London who had
played a prominent role in 1984
did not even bother to come. The
miniatures were knocked down
at prices ranging from 120,000 to
145,000 francs — prices that, in
dollars, were half what the
cheapest lots sold for a year earlier.

This worried Sotheby's expert
Nabil Saidi, who said that he found
the Paris miniatures more attrac-
tive than the seven that he was
about to sell in London.

On Monday at Sotheby's the
first of the London miniatures rose
to a steep \$42,000, three times the
price of the most expensive mini-
ature in Paris five weeks earlier. The
next pieces went for \$25,000,
\$20,000, \$24,000 and \$22,000. The
last two failed to reach the reserve
prices and were bought in at
\$13,000 and \$5,000. They have just
been sold privately by Sotheby's at
prices close to these.

Such failures are surprising, given
the importance of the manu-
script to the history of Turkish
painting. Only a few more leaves
are believed to remain in the hands
of the Swiss owner from which the
Paris and London miniatures
came, so there is no question of a
glut of the market, as some dealers
suggested.

Nor can the London failures be
due to a sudden lack of interest in
Islamic painting. Very much the
contrary was suggested Tuesday by
the world record established for
any painting from Islamic India.
\$135,000 for a page from a manu-
script called the "Hanaz-Nama."
This Persian romance, dealing with
the feats of Amir Hanzan, an uncle
of the Prophet, may have run to as

many as 12 volumes, now lost.
They were executed at the Persian-
speaking court of Akbar, the Mo-
ghul emperor of India, starting in
about 1560, in an atelier set up by
Iranian masters at Akbar's request.
Of the 1,400 paintings that art his-
torians believe must have been
completed, no more than 150 or so
appear to have survived.

The page sold at Sotheby's illus-
trates the symbolic burning of the
arms chest of Zoroaster, prophet of
the ancient religion of Iran. It ranks
among the very finest such works
on record for its composition, but
like most other miniatures seen at
auctions in recent years, shows
signs of rubbing and smearing,
which makes the price more re-
markable still.

There were similarly wild varia-
tions in prices, bearing little or no
relationship to the quality of the
pieces, when objects of art were sold
at Sotheby's on Tuesday evening
and Wednesday. Here and there
the catalog entries reflected the ten-
dency to give Iranian objects a
provenance more in tune with the
expectations of Arab buyers, who
are playing a leading role in the
market. A typical eastern Iranian
bronze pitcher was called "Egypt-
ian," although the caption stated
that it came from Neyshabur, in
Iran, where several such pieces
have come to light. A small bronze
inkwell with figurative scenes in-
laid in silver and gold, which was
bought in Iran three years ago and
is typical of late-13th century de-
sign in that country, was described
in a long, rambling entry leaving
the reader in doubt as to whether it
came from northeastern Syria or
western Iran. A similarly worded
entry graced an important incense
burner, made of silver-inlaid
bronze.

Herzog's Staging of Busoni's 'Faust' Is Hit

By William Weaver

BOLOGNA — The surprise hit of the spring opera
season in Italy is Ferruccio Busoni's 60-year-old
"Doktor Faust," playing to sold-out, enthusiastic
houses in the Teatro Comunale di Bologna. Unfin-
ished at the composer's death in 1924, the work was
completed by his pupil Philipp Jarnach and presented
in Dresden a year later. Since then it has been very
much a festival opera, mounted occasionally with
grand artists and elaborate staging. As a rule there is
critical acclaim and public indifference followed by a
long silence.

This production may change the pattern. First,
it proves that the piece works without superstars. In
the title role, James Johnson was so impressive that
he might soon become a superstar (especially if he can
bring the level of his acting up to that of his singing).
In the fiendishly demanding part of Mephistopheles,
the tenor Wolfgang Fessler was less impressive but
still effective, and Sophia Larson as the Duchess
of Parma sang with gleaming, dramatic power. The nu-
merous smaller roles were strongly cast, and Zoltan
Pesko and the Bologna orchestra convincingly illus-

trated the beauty and subtlety of this deeply personal
and haunting score.

Making his operatic debut, the film director Werner
Herzog followed the fashionable ignore-the-libretto
rule. Faust's study became an alpine peak, which the
doctor scaled during the first act. Lush Parma was
polar fire. It would have been more useful if Herzog
had devoted time to the acting of the principals, who
showed little sign of having had individual guidance.
Henning von Gierke's sets were striking (the original
designs, displayed in the foyer, are even more strik-
ing).

A particular feature of this staging was that it used
for the first time, a reconstruction of the final set
designed by the English Busoni scholar Antony Best
mot, scrupulously based on sketches and notes four
long after Jarnach had done his work. Bestmoot
achievement sounds right, so this Bologna staging was
not only enjoyable but authentic.

William Weaver is a writer and translator who lives
Italy and writes about the arts. His latest book is a
biography "Duse."

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Ireland's Treasures On Show in London

By Max Wykes-Joyce
LONDON — Whatever may be the state of affairs between Britain and Ireland in other respects, the countries' national galleries have cooperated ever since the foundation of the National Gallery of Ireland in Dublin in 1854 by an act of the British Parliament. The National Gallery of Ireland now has more than 2,500 major old paintings in its collection — which must have made the selection of 35 works for a loan show to the National Gallery in London a difficult task for the British selectors, who were given carte blanche by their Irish opposite numbers.

The works were chosen to represent the considerable London holdings of artists such as El Greco, Poussin and Titian, or to show the British to view works by artists who now are poorly represented or not represented at all in the British national collections. Notable in the latter case are Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (1616-1670) with his "Shepherdess Finding the Infant Cyrus"; the Venetian Bernardo Bellotto (1720-1780), a nephew and pupil of Canaletto, though quite different in style, here represented by a pair of cityscapes of Dresden; and the Dutch painter Frans Post (1612-1680), who turned out "A Brazilian Landscape" as a member of the entourage of Count Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, governor-general of Brazil from 1636 through 1644.

Other splendid loans in this excellent show are a dramatic "David and Goliath" by Orazio Gentileschi (1562-1647), the Pisan-born painter who died in London in the service of King Charles I; a colorful picnic "Party Feasting in a Garden" by the Roman Giovanni Battista Passeri (c. 1610-1679); and the portrait of a young musician, "A Lady Playing a Lute," whose importance was so well-captured in 1648 by Jan Mytens (c. 1614-1670) that the centuries fall away, and it is, at least for this beholder, still a case of love at first sight.

"Case of love at first sight" is a case of love at first sight from the National Gallery of Ireland, which is at Trafalgar Square, through May 27.

In the 1920s and early 1930s, British printmaking took a new, exciting direction in the person of a young woman named Claude Flight (1881-1953) and her associates and students from the Grosvenor School of Modern Art, Sybil Andrews (b. 1898) and the

architect/historian Cyril E. Power (1874-1931). The three are those principally represented among 99 British Color Linocuts of the 1920s and 1930s at the Redfern Gallery. The show also includes "Dull Evening," an evocative print by Flight's close friend Edith Lawrence (1890-1973); and several works by the Swiss artist Lili Tschudi (b. 1901), whose work shows the influence of earlier studies with André Lhote and Gino Severini.

"British Color Linocuts of the 1920s and 1930s," Redfern Gallery, 20 Cork Street, W1, through May 4.

Anthony Palliser is an English painter who, after graduating in modern languages and history at Oxford, trained as a painter in Italy and now lives and works in Paris. The chief theme of his 1980 London show was still life, of which there are one or two examples in his exhibition of recent work at Quinton Green Fine Art. His new work has taken first direction — consisting chiefly of portraits and nudes, portrayed on a large scale, and manipulating vivid colors. The nudes are as much portraiture as the portraits, and neither suffers from sterile academicism.

"Anthony Palliser," Quinton Green Fine Art, 5/6 Cork Street, W1, through May 4.

The Stoppenbach & Delestré show of "Nineteenth and Twentieth Century French Drawings and Watercolors" includes a fine flower piece, a specialty of painters in Lyon, by Jean Pierre Lays (1835-1887); and a delightful "View of the Louvre and the Institute from the Pont Neuf" by Augustus Charles de Pugin (1762-1832), the little-known emigrant father of A. W. N. Pugin (1812-1852) the architect famed in Victorian England for his leadership of the Gothic Revival. There are two social commentary watercolors by Jean-Louis Forain (1851-1931), one of which, "Love in Paris," portrays a gentleman smiling while his erstwhile female companion rummages through his pockets. Another feature of the show is a group of ink and wash drawings by Auguste Louis Lepère (1849-1918). Other major drawings include the pencil "Head of a Young Woman" by André Derain (1880-1954).

"Nineteenth and Twentieth Century French Drawings and Watercolors," Stoppenbach & Delestré, 25 Cork Street, W1, through May 11.



National Gallery show includes Passeri's "Party Feasting in a Garden" (detail).

In the late 18th century and the first half of the 19th, many British professional people who had to travel abroad for their work seem to have been endowed with considerable artistic ability. Such a person was Dr. Thomas Bowdler Watson (1815-1860), who took his M.D. at Edinburgh, was a family doctor at Melrose, and in 1845 sailed for Macao to take over the medical practice of a fellow Scot. Among his patients was the artist George Chinnery, who became the doctor's friend and from whom Watson received "many valuable hints on the art of painting." The results may be seen at Martyn Gregory in the first exhibition of 119 of Watson's pencil, ink and wash drawings of Macao, and of Hong Kong, where he lived from 1856 to 1858. After London, the exhibition travels to Hong Kong and thence to Macao, where it will have a museum showing from May 24 through June 4.

"Dr. Thomas Bowdler Watson," Martyn Gregory, 34 Bury Street, St. James's, SW1, through April 25; Hotel Furama Inter-Continental, Hong Kong, May 15-18; Museum Luis de Camões, Macao, May 24-June 4.

It has long been the fashion among major artists to attempt book illustrations at least once for a fine limited edition. Under the title "From Manet to Hockney," the Victoria & Albert Museum is showing 166 such books, Manet being represented by his 1875 illustrations for Mallarmé's translation of

Poe's poem "The Raven," and Hockney, rather excessively, by his etchings (1966) for "Fourteen Poems by C. V. Cavafy" as well as his 1970 etchings for "Six Fairy Tales from the Brothers Grimm" and the 1977 etchings inspired by Wallace Stevens's Picasso-inspired poem "The Man with the Blue Guitar." Among the best books were those whose illustrations were most directly felicitous to the texts — the monotypes by Degas for Ludovic Halévy's novel "The Cardinal Family"; Bonnard's lithographs for the Ambroise Vollard publication (1902) of the "Pastoral Poems of Longus"; Picasso's etchings (1942), supervised by the printmaster Roger Lacourrière, for Buffon's "Natural History"; and André Derain's colored woodcuts (1943) for Rabalais's "Pantagruel," for the printing of which he also enlisted Lacourrière's aid and for the designing of which he made a profound study of playing cards popular in the lifetime of Rabalais (c. 1494-c. 1553).

"From Manet to Hockney: Modern Artists' Illustrated Books," Henry Cole Wing, Victoria & Albert Museum, Exhibition Road, SW7, through May 19.

A true artist's book — text compiled and printed, images designed and printed, and finished book bound, by the artist — is one of the main exhibits in "Edward Wright: Graphic Work & Painting," an Arts Council traveling exhibition at Kettle's Yard Gallery, Cambridge, later moving to Norwich, Oxford

Eccentrics in the Mainstream Produce New Albums of Contemporary Music

By John Rockwell

NEW YORK — The typical European composer once felt part of a cultural tradition. Sustained by his teachers and peers, he was conscious of his place in a continuum of music, even if he chose sometimes to rebel against that tradition or to redefine it.

Yet more and more, it seems, Europe and Europeanized Japan have been producing isolated musical eclectics, and they often count among the most important composers of the day. Four of these men — Karlheinz Stockhausen, Iannis Xenakis, Toru Takemitsu and Arvo Pärt — have new records that attest not just to the interest their music arouses, but to its idiosyncrasy.

This development is unexpected, in part because modern technology and travel were supposed to bind us all more closely together, eradicating individual and regional differences. A chief fear among the non-American parts of the world, in fact, is that their indigenous cultures will be Americanized. Yet the eccentric composer has long been the distinguishing feature of the best new American music.

Perhaps the reason for the rise of these individualists, in the United States and abroad, has more to do with the Zeitgeist, with our time's forced focus on the individual at the expense of the community. Or perhaps the eclecticism of modern musical styles — the failure of any one trend to assert itself as the mainstream — means the mainstream is made up of uncountable tributaries.

Stockhausen is perhaps Europe's best-known composer-eclectic these days; only Deutsche Grammophon's indefatigable willingness to document his every musical utterance saves him from marginality. The latest is his mostly choral "Atmen gibt das Leben."

Stockhausen started his career a quarter-century ago as a far more conventional modernist, turning out serial scores and electronic pieces with earnestly chromatic seriousness. His turn to eccentricity, consonance and ritual may have begun with time spent during the mid-1960s in that command center of U.S. compositional eccentricity, California. Since then, his music has concentrated on communal rituals, a theatricality reminiscent of George Crumb and all manner of meditative sound experiments.

This has been allied, however, with a Wagnerian ambition, most notably in his projected seven-evening quasi-operatic cycle, "Light," the first installment of which, "Thursday," was released in 1983 as a four-disk album by DG.

"Atmen gibt das Leben . . ." (Breathing Gives Life . . .) was completed in 1977 and is described as a "choral opera with orchestra (or tape)"; on this recording the forces are the chorus and symphony orchestra of the North German Radio, Hamburg. As with most of Stockhausen's recent music, real beauty coexists uneasily with profound silliness. Stockhausen has proved, from his earliest works through his occasional later masterpieces (e.g., "Hymen"), that he has a deep compositional gift. But he also has a mile-wide streak of self-indulgence. In the United States, eclecticism is encouraged by isolation. In West Germany, it seems to be fostered by lemming-like institutional and critical support.

The prime French candidate for eccentric individuality — Greek-French, actually — is Iannis Xenakis, who has been somewhat eclipsed in fame and governmental support by Pierre Boulez but who still lives in Paris composing music that sounds like nobody else's.

One strange aspect of Xenakis's reputation, propagated in large measure by himself, is that he is perceived as an ultrarationalist, almost a French Milton Babbitt. This comes from his mystifying graphs and charts, wherein he attempts to provide a physical or mathematical or psychoacoustical correlation to the mere notes contained in his music.

In fact, however, Xenakis seems more like Edgard Varèse, or even Glenn Branca, than Babbitt — a no-holds-barred Romantic whose sonic assaults can be best appreciated as Expressionist passion, not rationalist order. Heard in that sense, his music sounds wonderfully invigorating. Certainly it sounds that way on the Arditi String Quartet's new Xenakis collection (English RCA). The music sighs and screams and howls, and its every inflection is admirably captured by the Arditi players, who seem to be an English equivalent, in their commitment to contemporary repertoire, to the American Kronos Quartet.

Toru Takemitsu is Japan's best-known composer, which might make him an unlikely eccentric. Yet to judge from recent reports, Japan lacks an extensive new-music community, and in any case Takemitsu has always been a world-wanderer, as well as a musical autodidact who resisted ready absorption into any compositional school.

Often his music has sounded bland, a sincere but devitalized recycling of harmonies and moods better expressed by the likes of Debussy and even Rachmaninoff. But his "In an Autumn Garden" (Varèse Sarabande) is another matter altogether — about the most evocative Takemitsu score I have ever encountered.

He never broke entirely from his Japanese heritage; several of his pieces have made use of ancient Japanese instruments. "In an Autumn Garden" is part of a series of commissions from the National Theater of Japan to prominent composers to write works for the traditional Japanese gagaku orchestra (another recipient of this program was Stockhausen). Takemitsu's commission came in 1973; six years later he added more material to make up the nearly hour-long score heard on this compact disk.

The work does not use the old gagaku modes or confine itself to the traditionally circumscribed ways of playing the old instruments. The effect is fascinatingly half-modern, half-ancient; dreamily atmospheric, redolent of a mysterious national past yet contemporary.

Finally, we have the least well-known composer of this quartet, the Estonian Arvo Pärt, who lives in West Berlin. Pärt's reputation is growing, partly because of the notable interpreters who champion his music: "Tabula Rasa" (an ECM compact disk) entitles Gidon Kremer, Keith Jarrett, Dennis Russell Davies, the Twelve Cellists of the Berlin Philharmonic and the Russian avant-garde composer Alfred Schnittke, among others.

Pärt is a minimalist, but that does not mean he sounds morose and trance-like. His music unfolds with a quiet rapture, small units shifting and turning into a ritualistic mysticism.

The most overly gorgeous piece here is the five-minute "Cantus in Memory of Benjamin Britten," which could become as popular as Pachelbel's Canon if anyone promoted it with the requisite crassness. "Frater" exists in several versions; here this quietly intense music is heard for violin and piano and for the 12 cellists. "Tabula Rasa" itself, the longest piece on the disk, conjures up images of revolving heavenly spheres, or angels at play.

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	DM	or US\$*	or £*
1/1 ticket	747.00	229.85	210.45
1/2 ticket	387.00	119.10	109.05
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* US\$ prices and £ prices are subject to rate of exchange

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77/85 Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☐ Miss ☐

First Name

Last Name

Street

P.O. Box

City

Country

Please print in block letters.

	Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
DorcoPd	6774	127%	11%	12	→
WangB	3516	18	18%	18%	→
Verbitn	339	7%	7%	7%	→
DowD	2885	3%	2%	2%	→
MidPnt	2730	14%	13%	14%	→
TexAir	2222	11%	11%	11%	→
BAT	1444	4%	4%	4%	→
IntThr n	1368	7%	7%	7%	→
SFN pTA	1069	31	29%	30%	→

AMEX Stock Index					
High	Previous Low	Close	Today		
111.98	231.14	231.23	230.87		

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

professional traders involving the options and futures and the big-name blue chip stocks have touched off sharp swings in the stocks' prices as the options and futures approached expiration.

R. R. Bowker Co. is best-known for publishing major reference books and magazines, including *Books In Print*, the listing of all avail-

43	35	ConE pf	4.65	11.2		100x	41 1/2	41 1/2	41 1/2	—	3/4
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(Continued on Page 10)

BUSINESS ROUNDUP

Borden Posts 2.6% Increase in Profit

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — Borden Inc. said Friday its earnings rose 2.6 percent in the first quarter of this year, but results from its international operations were depressed by the strength of the dollar.

Borden also announced it had purchased wallcovering businesses in Britain and Canada.

It maintains these acquisitions will make Borden the industry leader in decorative wallcoverings.

In addition, Borden said it had agreed to enter a joint venture to build a powdered-milk plant in China.

Earnings for the first three months of this year rose to \$34.8 million, or \$1.33 a share, from \$33.9 million, or \$1.22 a share, a year earlier. But sales fell 1.7 percent to \$1.08 billion from \$1.10 billion.

The company, which has interests in food, chemicals and consumer and professional products, said operating income from its international division fell 25 percent.

Eugene Sullivan, chairman of Borden, said two thirds of the decline abroad was due to foreign exchange losses combined with the effects of the strong dollar. The company had exchange losses that were more than \$3 million above the year-ago level.

Meanwhile, Borden said it was buying the Crown and Sunworthy wallcovering operations of Reed International PLC, which have combined annual sales of \$90 million. Terms were not disclosed.

Crown is the largest producer of wallcoverings in Britain and Sunworthy is a major producer in Canada.

Borden said that when combined

with its existing U.S. operations, its wallcoverings revenues would rise above \$150 million a year, making Borden the world's largest manufacturer of decorative wallcoverings.

It also said it signed a letter of intent to join with the Qiqihar First Light Industry Bureau to build a powdered milk plant in China.

The plant, with a capacity to process 200 tons of milk daily, is scheduled to begin operations by October, 1987.

Continental Cuts London Fare

The Associated Press

HOUSTON — Continental Airlines said Friday it will begin its new Houston-to-London service with a special \$199, one-way coach fares, nearly half the cost of the regular fare.

Output and Sales Rise at Jaguar

United Press International

LONDON — Jaguar PLC, the private automaker broken off from B.L. PLC last year, has reported a 13-percent increase in sales and a 15-percent rise in production for the first quarter of 1985.

Jaguar said Thursday that it sold 8,883 cars in the quarter and produced 10,606. The automaker said it plans to spend £400 million (\$516 million) by the end of the decade to increase production to 60,000.

Also Thursday, a £3-million headquarters for Jaguar Holland was initiated. The United States is Jaguar's biggest market, but the company is trying to increase sales in Europe.

Dee Concedes Defeat in 10-Month Bid for Booker

By Bob Hagerty
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Dee Corp., a rapidly growing British food retailer, conceded defeat Friday in its 10-month-old bid to buy Booker McConnell PLC for about £360 million (\$465 million) of Dee shares.

Dee's offer lapsed after eliciting

acceptances representing just 16.7 percent of the food company's shares in addition to the 15.8 percent already owned by Dee. The offer was conditional on Dee obtaining more than 50 percent of the shares.

Booker's resistance to the bid benefited from improving results and signs of more aggressive management. For 1984, the company reported pretax profit of £36.8 million, up 47 percent from a year earlier. As part of an effort to fend off Dee, Booker forecast that pretax profit this year would rise 22 percent, to about £45 million.

Booker's interests include chicken and turkey breeding, other agricultural operations, production of vitamins and health foods, food distribution and supermarkets. The company also has major shareholdings in companies that own copy rights on books by Agatha Christie and Ian Fleming.

Dee, Britain's fourth-largest food retailer, first announced its bid last June, but the battle was delayed for seven months during a review by the Monopolies and Mergers Commission. The panel ruled in January that the offer could go ahead.

Last autumn, Dee acquired RAT Industries PLC's International Stores unit for £180 million.

Booker's victory came a day after a British textile company, Tool Group PLC, defeated a £128-million takeover attempt by Entrac Corp., an Australian textile concern.

Company Earnings

Revenue and profits, in millions, are in local currencies unless otherwise indicated

United States		Hartford Nat'l		Sterling Drug	
1st Quarter	1985	1st Quarter	1985	1st Quarter	1985
Revenue	1,100	Revenue	1,100	Revenue	1,100
Net Inc.	1,100	Net Inc.	1,100	Net Inc.	1,100
Per Share	0.41	Per Share	0.41	Per Share	0.41

Air Pils & Chem.		Hercules		Tandy	
1st Quarter	1985	1st Quarter	1985	1st Quarter	1985
Revenue	1,100	Revenue	1,100	Revenue	1,100
Net Inc.	1,100	Net Inc.	1,100	Net Inc.	1,100
Per Share	0.41	Per Share	0.41	Per Share	0.41

Alcoa		Knight-Ridder		Third National	
1st Quarter	1985	1st Quarter	1985	1st Quarter	1985
Revenue	1,100	Revenue	1,100	Revenue	1,100
Net Inc.	1,100	Net Inc.	1,100	Net Inc.	1,100
Per Share	0.41	Per Share	0.41	Per Share	0.41

Arvin Ind.		Lear Corp.		Time	
1st Quarter	1985	1st Quarter	1985	1st Quarter	1985
Revenue	1,100	Revenue	1,100	Revenue	1,100
Net Inc.	1,100	Net Inc.	1,100	Net Inc.	1,100
Per Share	0.41	Per Share	0.41	Per Share	0.41

Asarco		Mapco		Transamerica	
1st Quarter	1985	1st Quarter	1985	1st Quarter	1985
Revenue	1,100	Revenue	1,100	Revenue	1,100
Net Inc.	1,100	Net Inc.	1,100	Net Inc.	1,100
Per Share	0.41	Per Share	0.41	Per Share	0.41

Bell Atlantic		Mayflower		TransWorld Air	
1st Quarter	1985	1st Quarter	1985	1st Quarter	1985
Revenue	1,100	Revenue	1,100	Revenue	1,100
Net Inc.	1,100	Net Inc.	1,100	Net Inc.	1,100
Per Share	0.41	Per Share	0.41	Per Share	0.41

Borden		Marshall Field		Union Carbide	
1st Quarter	1985	1st Quarter	1985	1st Quarter	1985
Revenue	1,100	Revenue	1,100	Revenue	1,100
Net Inc.	1,100	Net Inc.	1,100	Net Inc.	1,100
Per Share	0.41	Per Share	0.41	Per Share	0.41

Burlington Ind.		North Blk. Colorado		Ud Jersey Bks	
1st Quarter	1985	1st Quarter	1985	1st Quarter	1985
Revenue	1,100	Revenue	1,100	Revenue	1,100
Net Inc.	1,100	Net Inc.	1,100	Net Inc.	1,100
Per Share	0.41	Per Share	0.41	Per Share	0.41

Holders Respond Negatively To Unocal's Defensive Move

By Fred R. Bleakley
New York Times

NEW YORK — Major institutional shareholders of Unocal Corp. have reacted negatively to the oil company's defensive maneuver to avoid a takeover by T. Boone Pickens.

Several of them said Thursday they would probably tender their shares to the investor group led by Mr. Pickens rather than pledge them to Unocal in an offer that may be activated.

Mr. Pickens, through an investment group called Mesa Partners II, has offered to purchase 64 million shares of Unocal for \$54 a share. If successful, the bid would give the group 50.1 percent of Unocal's 173.7 million outstanding shares.

In response, the California oil concern offered Tuesday to exchange \$72 worth of debt for 49.9 percent of Unocal's shares if Mr. Pickens gains control of the company. The purpose of such a move is to raise Unocal's debt, making it unattractive to buy the company.

But the possibility that Unocal shareholders may never get the chance to cash in on the Unocal offer makes Mr. Pickens' bid more attractive. "When you start to lose, you start to lose," said Peter Canon, a senior portfolio manager at Aetna Life & Casualty Co., which owns about 1.3 million Unocal shares.

In active trading Thursday, Unocal's stock, for the first time since the company's offer on Tuesday, acted as if Mr. Pickens' tender offer for \$54 a share might stand a chance. After trading down as much as \$1.25, it rebounded to close ahead 12.5 cents for the day, at \$46.75. Before Mr. Pickens began buying Unocal shares, they were trading at about \$35 a share.

AMC Plans Budget Cutbacks

The Associated Press

DETROIT — American Motors Corp., preparing to announce a financial loss for the first quarter, has said it plans to slash internal budgets by 25 percent, a move that could cost some white-collar workers their jobs.

AMC said Thursday that it would institute the cost-cutting plan in May. While no white-collar layoffs were scheduled, they could occur, spokesman Jerry Sloan said. "Controllable costs," such as travel budgets, would be cut, Mr. Sloan said. "We don't think we've been fat, but we think we can be leaner."

AMC has 6,100 white-collar workers and 17,000 blue-collar workers. It reported a 1984 profit of \$15.5 million.

The U.S. automaker planned to release its first-quarter financial results after the close of business on Friday. Company spokesmen would not disclose the contents, but sources said it would show a loss.

AMC is 46-percent owned by the French car manufacturer, Renault.

COMPANY NOTES

Bell Group Ltd. has reportedly cut its 5.05-percent stake in Broken Hill Pty. Co. to somewhere between 2.35 percent and 3.95 percent through the sale of April options, according to share analysts.

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, the Florida-based publishing firm, said it is acquiring two units of Home Insurance Co. for \$130 million.

Comcast Ltd., chairman, John Ralph, told the firm's annual meeting that the world aluminum market faces low growth in demand and highly competitive pricing in the short to medium term, suggesting excess capacity in bauxite, alumina and primary aluminum.

Deutsche Lufthansa AG has won West German government approval for a 25-percent stake in Avis Inc.'s German subsidiary, Avis Autovermietung GmbH.

General Instruments Corp. said it will halve its quarterly dividend because of a loss in the fiscal year ended Feb. 28.

Honeywell Inc.'s shareholders have approved antitakeover provisions under which sale or merger of the company to any party holding 10 percent or more of Honeywell's stock would require a majority vote of shares not owned by the seller.

Intel Corp.'s chairman, Samuel Zell, said at the annual meeting that he has no plans to take the company private.

Kaiser Steel Corp. and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters union said they have filed complaints with the U.S. International Trade Commission accusing Korea of selling offshore oil platforms in the United States at below fair value.

Mostek Corp., a subsidiary of United Technologies Corp., and Thomson-CSF, a subsidiary of France's state-owned Thomson SA group, have signed a product-ex-

Gold Options

Price	May	Aug	Nov
1000.00	1000.00	1000.00	1000.00
1000.00	1000.00	1000.00	1000.00
1000.00	1000.00	1000.00	1000.00
1000.00	1000.00	1000.00	1000.00

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Bank Moes & Hoop N.V.,
Kas-Associatie N.V.

AMSTERDAM DEPOSITORY COMPANY N.V.

Amsterdam, April 9th, 1985.

ADVERTISMENT

INTERNATIONAL FUNDS

Quotations Supplied by Funds Listed
19 April 1985

The net asset value quotations shown below are supplied by the Funds listed with the exception of some funds whose values are based on issue prices. The following abbreviations indicate frequency of quotations supplied for the IFT:

(d) - daily; (w) - weekly; (b) - bi-monthly; (q) - quarterly; (a) - annually.

ALMA MANAGEMENT		OBLIQUE LIMITED	
(w) ALMA FUND	\$ 15.20	(w) ALMA FUND	\$ 15.20
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GLOBAL INVESTMENT FUNDS

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M-1 Fell \$1.2 Billion in Latest Week

NEW YORK—The basic measure of the U.S. money supply, M-1, contracted by \$1.2 billion in early April, the Federal Reserve said. But the decline was less than the \$2-billion drop expected in the measure, which includes currency in circulation, travelers checks and checking deposits.

The Fed said M-1 fell to a seasonally adjusted \$573.6 billion in the week ended April 8, from \$574.8 billion the previous week.

For the latest 13 weeks, M-1 averaged \$568.9 billion, a 10.3-percent seasonally adjusted annual rate of gain-decline from the previous 13 weeks. The slow growth raised expectations on Wall Street that interest rates would not rise sharply.

But Elliott Platt, an economist at Donaldson Lufkin & Jenrette Inc., forecast that the central bank will keep close tabs on money growth. "You have to believe that some (Fed) easing has been put in place," he said. "The market has sold off at the close because the money supply was not down as much as the market wanted," Mr. Platt said of Thursday's trading.

Merrill Lynch Faces an Uncertain Future as Its Latest Leader Settles In

(Continued from Page 9)

James P. Hanbury, an analyst with Wertheim & Co. The real issue is whether they can bring their business in focus. The typical comment you hear is, "If only Merrill could put it together, they'd be very competitive."

There is a lot of Merrill to put together. It has a retail network second to none: 476 offices that have pulled in some \$150 billion in assets from 4 million individual customers. Merrill's investment banking business has grown sharply, and the company has rapidly become the nation's second-largest realtor, with some 12,000 independent agents selling houses for it.

And on the international front, Merrill is moving aggressively to win beachheads in overseas financial markets, which, like the American one, are deregulating.

Most of the company's explosive growth came under the tenure of the late Donald T. Regan, who left for Washington to be secretary of the Treasury in 1981 and is now President Ronald Reagan's chief of staff. From 1973 to 1981, Mr. Regan moved Merrill like a super-tanker through the deregulating world of financial services as he amassed new products and businesses.

But all this came too fast and went too far, and when the markets tumbled in 1982, Mr. Regan's heir,

Roger E. Birck, had to scramble to reverse gears.

Mr. Birck, a good No. 2 to Mr. Regan, was unable as No. 1 to put Merrill back on course. During his tenure, its earnings hit lows not seen in years, and its image was badly tarnished by its entanglements in the Baldwin-United Corp. collapse and the Washington Public Power Supply System default. After a mere three-and-a-half years as chief executive, he handed the baton to Mr. Schreyer. Mr. Birck will also step down as chairman in July.

Some observers wonder if Merrill is spreading itself too thin in trying to be equally successful in both the retail brokerage and investment-banking businesses.

"Merrill got overextended trying to be all things to all people," said Parris Long, an analyst with Lipper Analytical Securities. "They are trying to maintain their position as the largest retail firm and join the ranks of prestigious investment banks like First Boston and Goldman Sachs. They have to make up their minds. No one has done both and been successful. Somewhere they will have to decide and concentrate on only one or two things."

Yet others maintain that Merrill can move in two directions. But, to be successful, it will have to make some hard choices with a discipline it has not displayed before.

Some find it ironic that Mr. Schreyer is now the apostle of cost-cutting, since it was he who had

Manny Hanbury To Reorganize

New York Times Service

NEW YORK—Manufacturers Hanover Corp. has announced a reorganization plan that it said was designed to bolster lagging earnings and to shift the emphasis from growth in size and gross earnings.

Under the plan announced Thursday, the highly centralized bank holding company will be broken into five units, each a separate profit center headed by its own executive vice president. Part of the new strategy is to break down the distinctions between the bank and the holding company.

Manufacturers Hanover has generally been viewed by analysts as a big bank with somewhat lackluster earnings. But banking analysts responded favorably to the reorganization plans.

until the markets caught up with Merrill and profits fell.

Today Mr. Schreyer approaches cost-cutting with a new zeal. "This can't be construed as a one-time quick fix," he said. "We have to keep pounding this thing forward."

Mr. Schreyer boasts that in the second half of 1984 alone, his efforts have saved Merrill some \$110 million.

But if Merrill is cutting costs on some fronts, it is also piling up new ones. Merrill is committed to spending more than \$90 million over the next several years in a joint venture with IBM to develop a new computerized information and order execution system for brokers. It is spending some \$165 million for a new broker-training facility in Princeton, New Jersey, and \$80 million for a data-processing facility in Somerset, New Jersey. It is planning to move from its present Wall Street headquarters into two towers now under construction in Battery Park City in Manhattan. This will cost Merrill about \$125 million in lease payments.

Mr. Schreyer defends these expenditures as investments in Merrill's future, and says the capital projects may save the firm \$150 million to \$300 million in the long run.

One of the big sources of costs at Merrill is the retail distribution network that accounts for about half of Merrill's \$2.5 billion in annual revenues from securities operations.

Last year was a particularly bad one for Merrill's retail operation. On a strictly operational basis, it lost money. The business was carried on interest earned from about \$4 billion in loans on margin accounts, and the use of about \$1 billion in free credit balances that Merrill customers had left in their accounts. Merrill did not make money on its traditional commission or fee business.

A personalized brokerage network is a high-cost way of doing business, especially compared with such alternative delivery systems as direct mail, personal computers and automated tellers. There is the overhead of running the branches and the office leases, the salaries and the electronic support network. Then, the broker takes about 40 cents of every dollar in commission and fee revenue that Merrill collects.

"You have to ask how appropriate is a broker as a distribution system for financial services," said Rodney Schwartz, an analyst at Paine Webber Inc. "Other forms of distribution could render antiquated a traditional broker delivery system."

Muriel Siebert, head of Muriel Siebert & Co., a discount brokerage, said, "The removal of the individual investor from the market has got to have bad effects on Merrill." Individuals are now estimated to account for only 10 percent of all trading on the New York Stock Exchange, down from 33 percent in the late 1970s.

Floating Rate Notes April 19

Issuer/Note	Coupon	Rate	Bid	Ask
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00

Non Dollar April 19

Issuer/Note	Coupon	Rate	Bid	Ask
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00

Over-the-Counter April 19

Issuer/Note	Coupon	Rate	Bid	Ask
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00

Non Dollar April 19

Issuer/Note	Coupon	Rate	Bid	Ask
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00
First Nat'l City Bank	8.00%	100.00	100.00	100.00

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14600, 14700, 14800, 14900, 15000, 15100, 15200, 15300, 15400, 15500, 15600, 15700, 15800, 15900, 16000, 16100, 16200, 16300, 16400, 16500, 16600, 16700, 16800, 16900, 17000, 17100, 17200, 17300, 17400, 17500, 17600, 17700, 17800, 17900, 18000, 18100, 18200, 18300, 18400, 18500, 18600, 18700, 18800, 18900, 19000, 19100, 19200, 19300, 19400, 19500, 19600, 19700, 19800, 19900, 20000, 20100, 20200, 20300, 20400, 20500, 20600, 20700, 20800, 20900, 21000, 21100, 21200, 21300, 21400, 21500, 21600, 21700, 21800, 21900, 22000, 22100, 22200, 22300, 22400, 22500, 22600, 22700, 22800, 22900, 23000, 23100, 23200, 23300, 23400, 23500, 23600, 23700, 23800, 23900, 24000, 24100, 24200, 24300, 24400, 24500, 24600, 24700, 24800, 24900, 25000, 25100, 25200, 25300, 25400, 25500, 25600, 25700, 25800, 25900, 26000, 26100, 26200, 26300, 26400, 26500, 26600, 26700, 26800, 26900, 27000, 27100, 27200, 27300, 27400, 27500, 27600, 27700, 27800, 27900, 28000, 28100, 28200, 28300, 28400, 28500, 28600, 28700, 28800, 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43200, 43300, 43400, 43500, 43600, 43700, 43800, 43900, 44000, 44100, 44200, 44300, 44400, 44500, 44600, 44700, 44800, 44900, 45000, 45100, 45200, 45300, 45400, 45500, 45600, 45700, 45800, 45900, 46000, 46100, 46200, 46300, 46400, 46500, 46600, 46700, 46800, 46900, 47000, 47100, 47200, 47300, 47400, 47500, 47600, 47700, 47800, 47900, 48000, 48100, 48200, 48300, 48400, 48500, 48600, 48700, 48800, 48900, 49000, 49100, 49200, 49300, 49400, 49500, 49600, 49700, 49800, 49900, 50000, 50100, 50200, 50300, 50400, 50500, 50600, 50700, 50800, 50900, 51000, 51100, 51200, 51300, 51400, 51500, 51600, 51700, 51800, 51900, 52000, 52100, 52200, 52300, 52400, 52500, 52600, 52700, 52800, 52900, 53000, 53100, 53200, 53300, 53400, 53500, 53600, 53700, 53800, 53900, 54000, 54100, 54200, 54300, 54400, 54500, 54600, 54700, 54800, 54900, 55000, 55100, 55200, 55300, 55400, 55500, 55600, 55700, 55800, 55900, 56000, 56100, 56200, 56300, 56400, 56500, 56600, 56700, 56800, 56900, 57000, 57100, 57200, 57300, 57400, 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